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LEEDS AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT



*A Study of 'High Church' Activity
in the Rural Deaneries of
Allerton, Armley, Headingley and Whitkirk
in the Diocese of Ripon
1836 - 1934*

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PREFACE

THE STUDY OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT in the twentieth century has been rather unbalanced. The majority of scholars have been concerned with the movement's theology and with little else. There has been considerable interest in Newman, and a good literature has followed, but we still await a really satisfactory biography of Keble or Pusey. There have been several books of varying quality on two sidelights of the Oxford Movement, church architecture and Anglican monasticism. But many aspects of the movement have been virtually ignored, and this is particularly so in the case of the movement's parochial impact. The aim of this study is to provide a detailed analysis of the parochial impact (or lack of impact) of the Oxford Movement in about a hundred parishes in and around Leeds, and to compare this impact with that in the nation as a whole, though until more such detailed studies have been written this must still be largely a matter of assumption and guesswork.

The writing of this study began in 1969, and it has been undertaken on very much a part-time basis since then; parts of the study, especially the introduction, formed the basis of a lecture to the Thoresby Society in February 1972, and the section on Nicholas Greenwell and St. Barnabas's, Holbeck, formed the substance of a paper read to the Summer Conference of the Ecclesiastical History Society in July 1970. The sources of the study are indicated throughout in the footnotes, and have been summarised in the select bibliography. All known manuscript sources have been consulted, and a special emphasis has been placed on parish records; as a result much material has been deliberately jettisoned for the sake of readability, and lack of reference to parochial material should not be taken to mean that it has not been consulted. This jettisoned material can be consulted in the library of the Thoresby Society, where I have deposited my notes for this study and other working papers. There is, however, one potential source of information which has been used sparingly, and that is national and local newspapers. The main reason for this is that with so many newspapers to consult over the best part of a century — at least three major church and two local newspapers throughout — and with no indices available it would have been impossible to do more than sample sifting, which

could have produced very misleading results. Accordingly it was decided not to consult newspapers unless there were good reasons for doing so: reference to newspapers in other sources, newspaper cuttings in parish scrapbooks, or knowledge of public scandals bound to involve newspaper coverage. In view of the enormous quantity of non-newspaper material available for this study, and in the light of a limited use of newspapers in specific circumstances, there is little reason to suspect that a more systematic consultation of newspapers would have altered the general conclusions offered in this study.

In writing this study I am aware of the enormous debt that is owed to those who have made its publication possible. In particular I must thank the many clergy who have granted me access to their parish records; it would be impossible to name them all, but four on whose hospitality I have trespassed most are Canon J. C. Houghton (St. Hilda with St. Saviour), the Revd. Howard Garside (Manston), the Revd. Frank Lindars (Shadwell) and the Revd. W. E. Lockwood (St. Barnabas, Holbeck). Among the secretaries of church societies I must mention the Revd. Douglas Carter of the Church Union, the Revd. R. M. Ware of the Guild of All Souls, and Mr. A. L. Kensit of the Protestant Truth Society. The City Archivist of Leeds has been most kind, in particular in allowing me to reproduce the photograph of the Revd. Nicholas Greenwell. I am grateful to the Vicar of Leeds, Canon R. G. G. Foley, for permission to reproduce the print of Leeds parish church, and to the Revd. W. M. Jacob for the photograph of the high altar of Shadwell in his possession. I am also grateful to the librarians of Leeds Central Reference Library, Leeds University Library and the Thoresby Society and to the staff of the Ripon Diocesan Registry for full access to their collections. Among libraries and archive repositories outside Leeds, I am especially indebted to the staffs of Lambeth Palace Library, the British Library, the Public Record Office and Pusey House, Oxford, for assisting my researches. Mrs. Anna Coatalen has very kindly granted me access to the Hook papers in her private possession at Bucklebury in Berkshire, and the Revd. A. C. M. Howard equally kindly allowed me to consult the minute books of the northern chapter of the Society of the Holy Cross kept at All Saints, North Street, York. I am also grateful to the Revd. John Pearce for information on Robert Aitken, to the Revd. P. E. Blagdon Gamlen for allowing me to peruse his copy of the 1927 *ECU Church Guide*, to the late Mrs. Douglas Ferrier, who was able to elucidate several

inconsistencies in the documentary evidence relating to Shadwell, and to Mr. F. F. Heath for access to his excellent typescript history of St. Martin's, Potternewton. A much fuller treatment of the history of the parish of St. Saviour will have appeared shortly before the publication of this volume as one of the papers published by the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, and I am most grateful to the staff of the Institute for allowing me to dovetail the two studies so as to make them complementary to one another, and for much helpful comment on their contents. The Catherine and Lady Grace James Foundation very generously made a substantial contribution towards my research expenses whilst working on this and other Oxford Movement studies; my expenses have also been much reduced through the hospitality offered to me by my friends, the Revds. John White and Michael Rear, during my visits to Leeds.

Finally, I must thank those who have been good enough to comment on various drafts of this work, and at the same time absolve them from any complicity in the imperfections that remain: my wife, my friend Dr. Eamon Duffy of King's College, London, and, above all, the late Canon R. J. Wood to whom I should like to dedicate this study. It was Canon Wood who first aroused my interest in Leeds church history, and without his advice, encouragement and immense knowledge my task would have been all the more difficult. I should also like to thank the editors of the Thoresby Society for their helpfulness in seeing this volume through all the stages of its preparation and publication.

NIGEL YATES

Portsmouth Record Office
May 1975

INTRODUCTION

THE RELIGIOUS CLIMATE OF THE nineteenth century was one in which the established Church of England was under attack from many quarters. As a result great changes took place; the church entered the nineteenth century as a national church, it left it in effect as one denomination among many, yet stronger spiritually than it had been for generations. The attacks on the Church of England came both from within and without. Secular anti-clericalism was never strong in England, as it was in most other European countries, and was more or less restricted to the extremist radical press. The real attack from outside the established church came from the dissenters, who had been growing steadily in both numbers and influence since about 1750; in many areas — Wales, Cornwall, Yorkshire, East Anglia — the Methodists had taken over the religious leadership of the community from the established church. The attack focused on two main issues, the wealth of the church, usually much exaggerated and misunderstood, and the privileged position of the church in relation to education. In both cases the church was forced by Parliament to make important concessions; the endowments of cathedrals and bishoprics were broken up and distributed elsewhere, the religious tests were abolished at Oxford and Cambridge and new non-Anglican universities were founded; it was only after much public debate and many parliamentary struggles that the church managed to retain its control over certain schools. From about 1850 the Roman Catholics too were a threat to the established church; under the brilliant leadership of the first two Archbishops of Westminster, Wiseman and Manning, the latter a convert from Anglicanism, they increased at a considerable rate, mostly as a result of large-scale Irish immigration but partly also through conversions (such as Manning's) from the Church of England. By the second half of the nineteenth century the Church of England was under such pressure that even its establishment was threatened; the Irish church was disestablished in 1869 and the Welsh church, belatedly, in 1920; during the 1870s the disestablishment of the English church was seriously discussed and advocated both by churchmen opposed to Erastianism and by those whose motives were rather more destructive. It was only circumstances that prevented ideas from becoming realities.¹

¹ See P. M. H. Bell, *Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales* (London, 1969), 1-25 for a masterly assessment of the general situation and the pressures for disestablishment.

Within, the Church of England was in an almost permanent state of turmoil throughout the nineteenth century. At first it was the Evangelicals who made the most noise and, let it be said, did the most good work; they were determined to beat the Methodists at their own game and to prove that an established church could also care about the salvation of souls. Many new churches were erected in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, first of all by private subscription and then by parliamentary grants; most of these new churches were Evangelical. The old 'high and dry' Anglicans were highly suspicious of the Evangelicals, partly on doctrinal, largely on aesthetic considerations. The respectable parishioners of *Middlemarch*, for instance, condemned the Revd. Walter Tyke as a crypto-Methodist for allowing hymns to be sung in the chapel at which he ministered.² But by the middle of the nineteenth century the Evangelicals had become accepted by the church as a whole and a good many bishops were drawn from their ranks. After 1850 the groups that caused the most ecclesiastical discomfort to the comfortably Protestant establishment were the liberals and the 'high churchmen'. The liberals became enthusiastic about biblical criticism and created a great storm with the publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860; two years later Bishop Colenso of Natal was accused of heresy for denying the literal truth of various parts of the Pentateuch. The 'high-churchmen' are the subject of our present study and we need not consider their cause at this point, except to say that they aroused in many of their fellow churchmen all the deep-seated and totally irrational fears of an attempted 'take-over bid' by the Bishop of Rome. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was an interesting alliance between some of the liberals and some of the 'high churchmen' in the movement called Christian Socialism. Great bitterness existed between the various factions within the Church of England; although important doctrinal issues were often at stake, the real conflicts were frequently much more conflicts of personality than anything else. All sides attracted their apologists and controversialists who fought the issues out in parliament, in the press, in committees, from countless pulpits and in innumerable tracts. It is only within the last fifty years that charity has been allowed to prevail and religious attitudes respected by those who sincerely hold opposing views.

² George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, ch. 18.

According to its official historians and to popular myth, the Oxford Movement began on 14th July 1833, when the Revd. John Keble, then Professor of Poetry at Oxford, preached an assize sermon on *National Apostasy*, in which he condemned the British government for reducing the number of bishoprics in Ireland by a series of diocesan amalgamations. At first the Oxford Movement was a purely theological experiment motivated to some extent by political conservatism. A group of Oxford scholars published a series of ninety *Tracts for the Times* between 1833 and 1841, all of them concerned with furthering interest in the more Catholic aspects of theology: patristics, liturgy, devotional literature, church history. The tracts began as short penny pamphlets but they developed into learned treatises of much greater length and importance; the series ended in 1841 after the publication of *Tract XC* in which J. H. Newman, vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, argued that the Anglican 39 Articles were capable of a Catholic interpretation. Despite Newman's tortuous arguments the tract aroused enormous hostility and was condemned by four Oxford dons in a letter to *The Times* dated 8 March 1841.³ After a sharp correspondence between Newman and the Bishop of Oxford the tracts were discontinued, and Newman went into semi-retirement. Four years later, with the active encouragement of the future Cardinal Wiseman, Newman was received into the Roman Catholic church, only to be followed by several other members of the Tractarian party. The leadership of the Oxford Movement passed to E. B. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, who unlike some of the other early Tractarians was interested in turning what had been a largely academic movement into a parochial one as well.

At about the same time as the tracts and their writers were flourishing at Oxford an important architectural movement was beginning at Cambridge. In 1839 two undergraduates, J. M. Neale and Benjamin Webb, founded the Camden Society, and actively associated themselves with the most imaginative church architect of the day, the Roman Catholic A. W. N. Pugin. The Camden Society caused about as much stir as Newman with *Tract XC* by its advocacy of stone altars, raised chancels, elaborate reredoses and other Catholic fittings in Anglican churches. The Society was both practical and theoretical; it sponsored the restoration of churches in the Cambridge area and commented on restoration

³ The signatories were T. T. Churton (Brasenose), H. B. Wilson (St. John's), John Griffiths (Wadham) and A. C. Tait (Brasenose), the future Archbishop of Canterbury.

elsewhere and on general church matters in its journal, *The Ecclesiologist*, published from 1841. In 1844 the Society was denounced by Francis Close, later Dean of Carlisle, in a published sermon entitled *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery*; many of the higher clergy who had originally supported the Society, seeing it as a useful vehicle for bringing a greater decency into church building and worship, withdrew their patronage after the true aims of the Society had thus been laid bare. There followed severe splits in the leadership of the Society, which was forced to reconstitute itself in London as the Ecclesiological Society. The more advanced ecclesiologists were just as interested in church plate and furnishings as they were in architecture and they encouraged the use of candles, altar crosses, frontals and other aids to devotion. Despite the encouragement there was not much ritualism in England before about 1860. The leaders of the Oxford Movement were liturgically conservative and most of them continued to celebrate the Eucharist, without candles and without vestments, at the north end of the altar, as they had always done. A few churches, mainly in London, began to light two candles at early celebrations of the Holy Communion and some celebrants began to take the eastward position.⁴ At St. Thomas's, Oxford, the vicar began to wear in the late 1840s a chasuble made out of two M.A. hoods.⁵ J. M. Neale, then chaplain of St. Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead, introduced reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in 1856 and the Roman Catholic service of Benediction two years later.⁶ It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that a significant number of churches, again mostly in London, introduced vestments and incense. Even comparatively mild ceremonial could cause riots, as at St. Barnabas's, Pimlico, in 1850, and at St. George's-in-the-East in 1859.⁷

⁴ For the use of lights in the nineteenth century see D. R. Dendy, *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship* (London, 1959), 167-74. Early celebrations, usually at 8 a.m., were a Tractarian hallmark, though originally introduced by Evangelicals. Holding them emphasized the importance of Holy Communion as a service in its own right, and not just an occasional appendage to Morning Prayer. The early hour also facilitated fasting. The Evangelicals responded by introducing evening communions for which it was impossible to fast from the previous midnight, fasting being considered Popish.

⁵ P. F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings*, revised ed., (London 1965), 91.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁷ The riots at St. Barnabas's were brought about by the use of the surplice instead of the black gown for preaching, and the invocation of the Trinity before the sermon, by chanting parts of the service, and by the processions of clergy and choristers before and after the service. Those at St. George's were likewise provoked by processions and preaching in the surplice, but had as additional factors the singing of the Litany and the use of vestments.

Beyond the realms of theology and ecclesiology, the Oxford Movement had an impact on almost every section of Anglican, and even non-Anglican, church life in the second half of the nineteenth century. The publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861 was a Tractarian venture; by the end of the century it was in use in both the army and the navy, and in all but the most conservative or Evangelical of Anglican churches, with the result that the Anglo-Catholics soon abandoned it in favour of the more advanced *English Hymnal*, published in 1906. The restoration of the religious life in the Church of England for both men and women, though advocated by the poet Southey in the 1820s, was an important offshoot of the Oxford Movement. The first convent for women was founded in 1845 and that for men in 1863; by the end of the century more than seventy such communities had been founded.⁸ The disciples of the Oxford Movement were among the first to make faltering steps in the direction of ecumenicalism. F. G. Lee, editor of the *Directorium Anglicanum*, which showed Anglican clergy how to adapt the ceremonial of the pre-Reformation church to the texts of the Book of Common Prayer, founded the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom in 1857 and the rather more exotic and ill-fated Order of Corporate Reunion in 1877. J. M. Neale, the ecclesiologist and hymnologist, founded the Eastern Churches Association in 1863. Even E. B. Pusey published three *Eirenicons*, or open letters on Christian unity, between 1865 and 1870.⁹ The academic study of liturgy was a natural progression from ecclesiology, and much of our present liturgical knowledge is the result of work done by Tractarian scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the names of William Maskell, Percy Dearmer and W. H. Frere spring immediately to mind; the last two were founder members of the Society of St. Osmund, which changed its name to the Alcuin Club in 1897, a group of 'high churchmen' dedicated to popularising the study of liturgy. In their parochial work Tractarian clergy paid particular attention to the needs of the urban working classes and many of their most famous strongholds were in the slums of London and the major

⁸ The best studies of Anglican monasticism are A. M. Allchin, *The Silent Rebellion* (London, 1958), and P. F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*, revised ed., (London, 1964); the latter has (pp. 605-17) an exhaustive bibliography.

⁹ The best introduction to nineteenth-century Anglican ecumenicalism is H. R. T. Brandreth, *The Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1947). There is more recent, exhaustive and sympathetic treatment of the Order of Corporate Reunion in P. F. Anson, *Bishops at Large* (London, 1964), 57-90.

provincial towns. Although a majority of the earlier Tractarians had been Conservative in their politics, towards the end of the nineteenth century a group of 'high church' clergy, including Stewart Headlam, Charles Gore and Henry Scott Holland, came to dominate the movement towards Christian Socialism. Between them they founded the Guild of St. Matthew in 1877 and the Christian Social Union in 1889. Gore and Scott Holland both contributed to *Lux Mundi*, a series of essays designed to demonstrate a possible alliance between Anglican Catholicism and theological liberalism — almost a 'high church' *Essays and Reviews* — which horrified most Catholics by its liberalism and some liberals by its Catholicism.¹⁰ In its different ways the Oxford Movement permeated the whole of ecclesiastical society, though not as a united force; there were as many differences of outlook and opinion among the disciples of the movement as there were among its opponents or among those who cared nothing either way.

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The fullest impact of the Oxford Movement was still, however, felt over the question of church services and ritual. The spread of ritualism greatly worried most Anglican bishops, but their powers were limited. Attempts were made by aggrieved parishioners and others to prosecute ritualist incumbents, and a Royal Commission on Ritualism was set up, but this did a very poor job. Very few 'high churchmen' were interviewed; the commission refused to examine F. G. Lee even though he had asked to give evidence.¹¹ Only two members of the commission were even mildly sympathetic to the ritualist cause; they supported reservation of the sacrament for the sole purpose of communicating the sick, and the use of communion wafers, but they were decidedly outvoted.¹² The commission was unanimous in voting against the use of incense and lighted candles, but divided (15 votes to 8 against) on the exceptional use of vestments in parish churches.¹³ Thus in their report the commissioners concluded:

¹⁰ For Christian Socialism see K. S. Inglis, *The Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London, 1963), 250-321.

¹¹ 'Reports from the Ritual Commission, 1867-70' in *British Parliamentary Papers, Religion* (Shannon, 1971), iii, 124.

¹² *Ibid.*, iii, 154, 186.

¹³ *Ibid.*, iii, 128, 135.

'We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the United Church of England and Ireland all variations in respect of Vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said United Church, and we think that this may be best secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress.¹⁴

The use of Lighted Candles at the celebration of the Holy Communion has been introduced within a period of about the last twenty-five years... The use of Incense in the public services of the church during the present century is very recent, and the instances of its introduction are very rare... Under these circumstances... we are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the Church all variations from established usage in respect of Lighted Candles and of Incense.'¹⁵

But words were insufficient. In 1865 the Church Association had been formed to fight the growth of ritualism, and the combined pressure of this body and the militant Protestantism of Queen Victoria forced the then Archbishop of Canterbury, A. C. Tait, to take a more positive anti-ritualistic stand. Gladstone, of course, was a 'high churchman' and would not support the Archbishop. But with the fall of the Liberal government early in 1874, a strange alliance between Disraeli and Tait made action possible; the result was the Public Worship Regulation Act which was passed in the same year.¹⁶ The Act was concerned to put down ritualism, 'the mass in masquerade' as Disraeli was to call it, by setting up a new court under Lord Penzance, a former divorce judge; as in the past, prosecutions could be brought by private individuals, but each diocesan bishop was given the power to veto a suit if he considered it advisable. The episcopal veto could and did serve to emasculate the Act. After a small number of ritualist clergy had been imprisoned for refusing to give up various illegal practices and had become martyrs in the process, many bishops were unwilling to allow further prosecutions to proceed and promptly vetoed them. It was also becoming impossible to control the development of moderate ritual; a growing number of bishops were sympathetic to the move towards greater decency in the ordering of public worship, and the early theological colleges, such as Cuddesdon, founded in 1854, were producing clergy firmly reared in Tractarian theological and liturgical principles; in 1866 York Minster became the first cathedral to introduce a weekly

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 15.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 197.

¹⁶ There is a detailed study of this Act in P. T. Marsh, *The Victorian Church in Decline* (London, 1969), 158-92.

sung Eucharist, and St. Paul's, London, began a daily Communion Service in 1877.¹⁷

However, whilst the bishops tried to conciliate, the Protestant extremists began to agitate more violently than ever before. In 1877 Lord Redesdale 'exposed' in the House of Lords an injudiciously worded manual privately circulated to members of the Society of the Holy Cross entitled *The Priest in Absolution*. Many other sensational practices were revealed by Walter Walsh, writing on behalf of the Church Association, in his best-selling *Secret History of the Oxford Movement*, which went through a number of editions in the late 1890s; if one ignores the blatant partiality of the evidence this is still an extremely valuable source book, especially on the history of Anglican Convents and on the various 'high church' societies, some of whose documents Walsh was obliged to steal in order to make his revelations. In 1890 the publisher, John Kensit, became secretary to the newly-founded Protestant Truth Society and toured around the country organising violent demonstrations at known ritualist churches;¹⁸ his descendants still carry on the cause, though rather more charitably. The Public Worship Regulation Act had obviously failed, and further action was needed to control the extremists on both sides. In 1904 Parliament set up a new Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, the members including a future Bishop of Ripon, Thomas Drury, and the then Vicar of Leeds, E. C. S. Gibson. The work of this commission was very thorough; with the help of Church Association observers, the Commissioners were presented with detailed evidence of 'illegal ceremonies' in a total of 559 churches, most of which observed what had come to be regarded as 'the Six Points'.¹⁹ Other, more Roman, ceremonies were also widely observed.²⁰ However, relatively few churches were completely Roman in their observances; the commissioners noted only nineteen churches using 'holy water' and about five churches where the

¹⁷ W. O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols (London, 1966-70), ii, 385, 387.

¹⁸ See J. C. Wilcox, *John Kensit: Reformer and Martyr* (London, 1903).

¹⁹ Eastward position (438), vestments (491), altar lights (480), mixed chalice (439), wafers (279), and incense (109). It should be noted how few churches used incense at this time; most of them were in London. In 413 churches the sacrament was elevated at the consecration. The *Tourist's Church Guide* estimated that at 1,526 out of 14,242 churches in England and Wales vestments were worn in 1901.

²⁰ *Confiteor* and 'Last Gospel' (143), *Lavabo* (249), 'Sign of the Cross' (298), *Sanctus* bell (212), portable lights (79), 'Stations of the Cross' (138), non-communicating Eucharists (114), altar cards (100+), statues (31) and roods (67).

full Holy Week services were held; they were unable to discover a single case of Benediction, though they suspected something like it, at which the sacrament was not actually exposed, in St. Columba's, Haggerston. Only about thirty churches were charged with reserving the sacrament, and in more than half these cases the charge was denied.²¹ After the Church Association observers had presented their reports and been examined the incumbents were sent the evidence and asked to comment. The commissioners reported in 1906, much more tolerantly than the earlier commission had done. They advised the repeal of the Public Worship Regulation Act and they only condemned outright the more extreme Anglo-Catholic practices.²² As a result machinery was set in progress for revising the Book of Common Prayer so as to incorporate those, strictly illegal, practices which had become widespread; the ensuing debate lasted for twenty years and the will of the church was eventually frustrated by Parliament, with the rejection of a revised Prayer Book in 1927, and a modified successor in 1928. Although this rejection was brought about largely through lobbying by Evangelicals, it was also to the advantage of the more advanced Anglo-Catholics for whom the revisions did not go far enough. The experiences of 1927-8 were enough to convince most Anglican bishops and their clergy, whatever their own churchmanship, that the best plan for the future was to tolerate diversity in the hope that, left to themselves, the different parties in the church would learn to work together in a common interest. On the whole, their optimism has been justified.

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In the history of the Oxford Movement, Leeds occupied a very special place. It was connected with the movement early on through the teachings of W. F. Hook at the parish church; it had its first ritual troubles in the 1840s, but relatively few after that, and by the end of the nineteenth century it had become a Tractarian stronghold, in contrast to the other Yorkshire cities — Bradford, Hull and Sheffield — which were strongholds of

²¹ For all this evidence see Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline Report (1906), Cd. 3040, 18-44.

²² *Ibid.*, 75. The commissioners specifically condemned the interpolation of Roman ceremonies into the Prayer Book Service, reservation of the sacrament *under conditions leading to adoration* [my italics] and associated devotions, non-communicating Eucharists, the invocation of saints and the veneration of statues.

Evangelicalism. In the pages that follow we shall look at many of these developments in some detail, and try to explain why Leeds should have moved in the direction that it did. We shall also need to look, however, at the struggles that took place, not merely between 'high churchmen' and their opponents, but amongst 'high churchmen' themselves. Historians often speak generally of the Oxford Movement as if it were a united front against Protestantism. This it was far from being; within nineteenth- and early twentieth-century 'high churchism' there were enormous differences of theological opinion and liturgical action, and these differences were frequently expressed with a vehemence that today would be considered, at the least, uncharitable. Much of the history of the Oxford Movement, both at the national and local level, is the study of such differences and their outcome. It is important also, when considering what happened locally, to set events firmly in the national context if they are to be understood properly, and throughout the pages that follow every attempt will be made to do this.

One general factor that needs to be considered in any discussion of the ecclesiastical history of Leeds after 1836 is the relationship of the city to the new diocese of Ripon. Before 1836, when the new diocese was created, Leeds was part of the ancient and vast diocese of York. The new diocese of Ripon included all the main West Riding towns, except for Sheffield which remained in the York diocese, and the balance of town and country was fairly even. The subsequent divisions of the Ripon diocese, after the creation of the new dioceses of Wakefield in 1888 and Bradford in 1920, left Leeds isolated in a predominantly rural diocese, and this served to increase the already substantial influence of the vicars of its parish church. Before the passing of the Leeds Vicarage Act in 1844, the clergy of the parish church were responsible for almost the whole population of the city; eighteen city churches were perpetual curacies attached to the parish church, at which all marriages had to be solemnised before 1836; in 1843 there were still 1,820 baptisms, 1,320 funerals and 1,163 weddings at the parish church. Within the city only Kirkstall and Woodhouse were independent parishes.²³ As a result of the Leeds Vicarage Act the former chapelries became parishes in their own right, but the vicar of Leeds still retained his rights of patronage to thirteen

²³ For the best discussion of Leeds church history in the period before 1836 see R. J. Wood, 'Leeds Church Patronage in the Eighteenth Century', *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, XLI (1954), 103-13 and L (1968), 193-211.

of the new parishes, and remained joint patron of two others; later on the patronage of three new parishes was vested in the vicars of Leeds. The city of Leeds came to form one rural deanery of which the vicar of Leeds was automatically rural dean by virtue of his office, a situation which has only recently been altered. Leeds formed, in effect, almost a sub-diocese in the diocese of Ripon with its vicar as ordinary; certainly, throughout the period under discussion the vicars of Leeds nearly always had more influence in the city than the bishops of Ripon, and this was an important factor in its religious development. Between 1836 and 1934 no 'high churchmen' occupied the See of Ripon, whereas every vicar of Leeds after 1837 was a 'high churchman' of some sort. Three bishops — Robert Bickersteth (1857-84),²⁴ Thomas Drury (1911-20) and Arthur Burroughs (1926-34)²⁵ — were definite Evangelicals, and two others were antipathetic towards 'high churchmen': William Boyd Carpenter (1884-1911) was Queen Victoria's favourite preacher,²⁶ and Thomas Strong (1920-5), though theologically sympathetic to the *Lux Mundi* school, 'had a great dislike of its Anglo-Catholic developments'.²⁷ Strangely enough the 'highest' bishop before 1934 was the first, C. T. Longley (1836-56), who was much maligned for his treatment of the early ritual troubles in Leeds (see pp. 28-30). The vicars of Leeds will be treated in greater detail elsewhere in this study, but they were an extremely distinguished succession of 'high churchmen', seven out of ten of whom became diocesan bishops.

²⁴ Bickersteth, addressing the annual general meeting of the Protestant Reformation Society, expressed his 'unabated interest in the work of this Society and ... unaltered attachment to the great principles which it was framed to protect'. See *Protestant Churchman*, July 1869, where the bishop is described as a 'faithful' Evangelical.

²⁵ At the golden jubilee celebrations at All Souls, Leeds, in 1930, Burroughs refused to wear a mitre though he consented to wear a cope. He was somewhat disconcerted when the congregation knelt to receive his blessing as he processed to the high altar, and had to be told to bless them by one of his attendant deacons. 'He stared at the people, meditated a moment and then lifted up his right hand to a boy scout half salute.' See H. G. Mulliner, *Arthur Burroughs: A Memoir* (London, 1936), 184.

²⁶ Thus Samuel Bickersteth, vicar of Leeds, on Bishop Boyd Carpenter, whose first chaplain he had been: 'Doctrinally, the Bishop's mind marched with the Modernists ... and he kept pace with them up to the end ... To the end of his life he had congenial sympathy with the Evangelicals, among whom he was born and trained, but with High Churchmen it was not so, though individually he respected and loved men like John Eddowes of Bradford, John Sharp of Horbury, or John Wild [sic] of Leeds'. See H. D. A. Major, *The Life and Letters of William Boyd Carpenter* (London, 1925), 314.

²⁷ *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (London, 1957), 1296.

It is always difficult, in writing detailed local studies of national phenomena, to determine the precise geographical boundaries of one's work. The recent reorganisation of rural deaneries in the Leeds area seemed to provide the answer. The new rural deaneries of Allerton, Armley, Headingley and Whitkirk include all the parishes in the city and its suburbs, and those largely industrial areas to the south and east of the city which have always looked towards Leeds as their natural centre. This means that the rural areas to the north of the city have been excluded, but here it is difficult to draw an adequate boundary, in ruri-decanal terms, between parishes that look towards Leeds and those that look towards Harrogate as their natural centre. Some study of these parishes, however, suggests that the ecclesiastical influence of Leeds was less strongly felt to the north and west of the city than it was to the south and east. In the west there was the alternative Evangelical influence of Bradford, to be seen in such Leeds parishes as Farnley and Woodside. In the north, rural conservatism appears to have resisted urban ecclesiastical pressures. At Hunsingore there was a celebration of Holy Communion only three times a year in 1855, and a weekly celebration was not established until 1898; at Kirk Deighton the first early celebration was not held until 24 June 1883.²⁸ In 1927 the *ECU Church Guide* noted only two Anglo-Catholic churches in the areas north and east of Leeds: St. Wilfrid's, Harrogate, and St. Luke's, Clifford. It should be noted that in other parts of England, especially the south-west, there were many 'high' and even ritualist churches in the rural areas; in Yorkshire the influence and patronage of Lord Halifax ensured a 'high church' tradition in the East Riding parishes of Bugthorpe and Kirkby Underdale and in an important group of mixed farming and mining communities in a rough triangle between Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham. In Leeds, however, the 'high church' tradition was confined to the area in and near the city; the more distant rural parishes were not influenced. But within the area chosen for this study it was the 'high church' party, despite the many divisions within it, that made the running after 1837 and thereby contradicted Bishop Westcott's contention that northern congregations could not be wooed by ceremonial and Catholic doctrine.²⁹ In Leeds the Oxford Movement was not just an academic one, it was a parochial one as well.

²⁸ Hunsingore Parochiala (Ms), Kirk Deighton service registers.

²⁹ Quoted by the Bishop of Wakefield in Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline (1906), Minutes of Evidence, vol. iii, Cd. 3071, p. 75 (Minute 17463).

Chapter 1

LEEDS PARISH CHURCH

THE ELECTION OF WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK to the vicarage of Leeds on 20 March 1837 was not greeted with overwhelming enthusiasm by all, or even a majority of, his future parishioners. Thus his transformation of the religious climate of Leeds in an incumbency of 22 years, not excessively long by Victorian standards, was a considerable achievement. Hook, born in 1798, had begun his ecclesiastical career as curate to his father in the country living of Whippingham on the Isle of Wight. In 1828 he had been presented to the vicarage of Holy Trinity, Coventry, and it was his pastoral success in a difficult industrial parish that had brought him into national prominence and made him an obvious candidate for the vacant vicarage at Leeds. He was, however, not the only candidate; the claims of 35 others had to be considered by the 24 trustees in whom the patronage was vested, and the living had already been declined by Samuel Wilberforce, the future Bishop of Oxford and Winchester, on health grounds.¹ The trustees were anxious to appoint a dynamic new vicar, and favoured Hook, but his churchmanship was a barrier that had to be overcome. Hook was a 'high churchman', his views being an idiosyncratic mixture of traditional and Tractarian principles. After his rift with Pusey in the late 1840s, Hook made much of his hostility to Tractarian doctrines, but the differences were not so marked in 1837. Hook himself, in a letter to his mother, wrote:²

'I am complacent at the Honor of having my name connected with those of the greatest Divines of this or any other age since the Death of St. Bernard. It is true that I do not subscribe to every thing said by any other Man, nor do all the writers of the Tracts subscribe to every thing in all the Tracts,—but still I am to all intents and Purposes an Oxford Tract Man. My writings embody their views. They are quoted by them [the Tractarians] on these grounds.'

Yet earlier he had roundly rebuked Samuel Wilberforce for identifying him 'with "The Oxford Tract Men"'. I love Pusey,

¹ D. Newsome, *The Parting of Friends* (London, 1966), 243.

² Hook to his mother, 6 March 1839, Coatalen Mss, K6.

Newman and Keble with all my heart and soul; but I call no man Master'.³ Hook's theological views were very often masked by the vehemence of his language and his desire to proclaim his independence from any sect or party in the established church. Thus his enthusiastic support of the Tractarians when he agreed with them and his vigorous denunciation of them when he did not have given a quite wrong impression of theological inconsistency to both contemporary and later critics.

In 1837 the possibility of Hook's election to the vicarage of Leeds led to pressure being put on the trustees by those of Protestant opinions both locally and nationally. 400 Leeds people petitioned the trustees not to appoint Hook — a counter-petition in Hook's favour was signed by 300 Leeds people — and there were articles in the *Record* and *Church Observer* denouncing Hook as a 'Romanist'.⁴ On 15 March a public meeting was held in Leeds at which a committee was set up to prevent Hook's election; among the complaints against him were his use of the word 'ultra-Protestant' in an opprobrious sense (Hook had a life-long dislike of Evangelicals), his hostility towards dissent, his unsound views on the sufficiency of Scripture and the nature of the Eucharist, and his support of the Oxford Tracts.⁵ In a series of letters written between 12 and 20 March the rector of Kirklington advised one of the trustees, William Gott, not to vote for Hook because of the Popish opinions revealed in his published work.⁶ In fact, two-thirds of the trustees, including Gott, ignored all these warnings and voted for Hook.

Hook's early years at Leeds were not without their difficulties. Before his election he confessed to his wife that he would have declined to become a candidate were it not for his desire 'to introduce Catholicism there' as he had done at Coventry.⁷ After his arrival he informed Samuel Wilberforce that 'the church is the most horrid hole you ever saw' and that 'the *de facto* established religion is Methodism'.⁸ Hook's immediate introduction of a weekly, instead of monthly, communion service was condemned by the churchwardens on account of the increased cost in the provision of wine, and his refusal to pour back into the bottle consecrated wine left over after the service led to

³ W. R. W. Stephens, *Life and Letters of W. F. Hook* (London, 1878), ii, 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 307, 314-16.

⁵ Leeds Parish Church, Bound volume of papers *re* Hook's election.

⁶ Leeds Parish Church, Transfer box 28.

⁷ W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, i, 298.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 403.

further charges of wastage and Popery (for belief in a corporeal presence in the elements).⁹ The attacks on him by local Evangelical clergy brought forth letters of sympathy from his friends,¹⁰ and he in turn complained to them about his lack of support from the diocesan authorities;¹¹ the extent of the opposition to him, however, was probably exaggerated by Hook, and there is little doubt that most of it came from outside the established church, from the dissenters, and not from within it.¹² A major blow, however, was his failure to have his nominee elected to the vicarage of Kirkstall in 1839, especially as the patrons were the same trustees who had elected him to Leeds in 1837: 'they acted on the crooked policy that having offended the Evangelicals by voting for me they would conciliate them by voting for an ultra-Calvinist'.¹³ His strength among his parishioners had, nevertheless, grown enormously and in the same year he was able to close the parish church, which he had found incapable of meeting his liturgical requirements, and to plan its replacement by one which could.

The new Leeds parish church was consecrated and opened for worship in 1841. Florence Nightingale, who attended the event, noted that 'it was quite a gathering for Puseyites from all parts of England. Papa heard them debating whether they should have lighted candles before the Altar but they decided no, because the Bishop of Ripon would not like it — however, they had them in the evening and the next morning when he was gone — and Dr. Hook has the regular Catholic jerk in making the genuflexion every time he approaches the Altar'.¹⁴ The opening of the new parish church was made the occasion for several architectural and liturgical experiments, which later came to be adopted, in some form at least, in the majority of Anglican churches. The altar was raised high above the nave and a surpliced choir was placed between the congregation and the altar; in most Anglican

⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, 3-4.

¹⁰ H. J. Rose to Hook, 8 November 1838: 'I am sorry but not surprised to hear of the malice and falsehood of your Evangelical enemies. Those two things are their characteristics as a party and, I believe, always have been'. Coatalen Mss, T13.

¹¹ Hook to Robert Wilberforce, 2 January 1841: 'It has been one of my trials to labour under leaders who have differed from me in opinion and disliked me personally. All is for the best: but one cannot help thinking of what might be done if one were well supported'. D. Newsome, *op. cit.*, 281.

¹² W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, i, 312.

¹³ Hook to his mother, 9 February 1839, Coatalen Mss, K6.

¹⁴ Sir Edward Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* (London, 1913), i, 55.

churches at this time the choir occupied a position at the west end of the church, usually in a gallery, and was not surpliced. Morning and Evening Prayer were said or sung daily in church: 'of late several parish Churches and Chapels have adopted the Choral Service either partially or wholly. At Leeds, every part of the Liturgy, on the evenings of all weekdays, and at all the services on Sundays and Holidays, is performed according to the strictest and best Choral precedent, those parts even being sung which are usually omitted in Cathedrals'.¹⁵ The weekly celebration of Holy Communion was continued in the new parish church, with occasional early and choral celebrations, both later hallmarks of Tractarian liturgical practice. Later in 1841 the north choir aisle of the new church was fitted up as a side chapel for special services in Advent and Lent; it eventually became the Lady Chapel.¹⁶

As vicar of Leeds Hook was a tremendous success, despite his periodic fits of depression: 'for my own part I wish to return to some country parish ... I feel a premature old age coming upon me'.¹⁷ During his incumbency the number of churches in Leeds increased from 15 to 36, church schools from 3 to 30 and parsonages from 6 to 29, the majority as the direct result of his labours.¹⁸ Under the terms of the Leeds Vicarage Act of 1844 Hook voluntarily surrendered a large part of his own income in order to divide his vast parish into manageable ecclesiastical units with their own incumbents. His only stipulation was that he should retain the patronage of some of these new benefices: 'we must have some place for persecuted High Churchmen to flee into'.¹⁹ In 1851 Hook presided over a committee of the Leeds Ruri-Decanal Chapter appointed to consider the best means of reclaiming those who did not go to church. Among their suggestions, considered highly novel at the time, were the establishment of short services for children, the celebration of Holy Communion at a greater variety of hours, open-air services, an authorised hymn-book, the extension of the diaconate and the revival of the subdiaconate, and the promotion of popular education.²⁰ Hook also owed a good deal of his success in Leeds to his effectiveness as a preacher and his judicious intervention in local political and social issues.

¹⁵ John Jebb on Leeds Parish Church, quoted in J. F. White, *The Cambridge Movement* (Cambridge, 1962), 95-6.

¹⁶ W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, ii, 117.

¹⁷ Hook to T. Henderson, 15 October 1845, Pusey House Mss.

¹⁸ F. J. Wood, *Four Notable Vicars* (Leeds, 1910-12), i, 8.

¹⁹ W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, ii, 165.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, ii, 309.

Outside Leeds, Hook was one of the most well-known of all Anglican parish clergy. He kept up a voluminous correspondence with both clergy and politicians, especially those with 'high-church' sympathies, and he published sermons or essays on many topical issues, in particular an open letter to Bishop Connop Thirlwall of St. David's on popular education. His conflict with Pusey over developments at St. Saviour's, Leeds, discussed in the next chapter, drew him more and more into the heart of the Tractarian controversy in which he took up a strongly individualistic position. On the one hand he wrote 'against those who are doing the work of the Church of Rome while eating the bread of the Church of England',²¹ whilst on the other he maintained 'that if I held high Protestant opinions I could not, as an honest man, remain in the Church of England; I should become a Dissenter'.²² Over the years Hook formulated his own theories of the *via media* of the Church of England, and used these as the guidelines by which he judged all ecclesiastical issues. He supported, against Tractarian opposition, the Jerusalem Bishopric Scheme in 1841; he 'disliked and disapproved' W. G. Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*, but voted against both its condemnation and the degradation of its author by the University of Oxford; he supported the disestablishment of the Church of England after the Gorham judgement (when the Privy Council reversed the decision of the Court of Arches in the case brought by George C. Gorham against Bishop Philpotts's refusal to institute him to the living of Bramford Speke), but denounced 'Papal Aggression', declined to become a member of the 'Romanising' Yorkshire Church Union, and supported the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, against the views of Gladstone and some other 'high churchmen'.²³ Writing to a prospective curate on 16 March 1857 he summarised his position as 'a decided anti-Tractarian ... I should not like a curate of mine to adopt the affectations in dress, gait or cant of that party. Cant is particularly offensive to me; the cant of the Tractarians is, I think, worse than that of the pseudo-Evangelicals'.²⁴ The fact that Hook was never offered a bishopric can almost certainly be put down to the isolation of his own theological position, and the vehemence of his preaching and published work on contemporary issues. The state preferred safe bishops, and Hook was not safe. He had

²¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 279-80.

²² *Ibid.*, ii, 128.

²³ *Ibid.*, *passim*. See also C. J. Stranks, *Dean Hook* (London, 1954).

²⁴ W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, ii, 368.

offended many Evangelicals and 'broad churchmen' by his attacks on Protestantism and Erastianism. He had offended many 'high churchmen' by his attacks on Tractarianism. His appointment to the deanery of Chichester in 1859 was in many ways a move towards retirement, and it is significant that Hook's major work there was the publication of his monumental *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*. He even gave up his use of the eastward position in the Communion Service as it was not the custom at the Cathedral: 'I consider the position of the celebrant a thing indifferent.'²⁵ He died in 1875.

Hook was succeeded at Leeds parish church by a series of moderate 'high churchmen', the majority of whom, unlike Hook, became bishops, and the liturgical traditions he had established were maintained, with only minor modifications, throughout the succeeding century. Hook had held occasional evening communion services since 1852, in order to attract those who preferred evening services, but these were abolished by his immediate successor James Atlay (1859-68), later Bishop of Hereford;²⁶ evening communion services were offensive to most 'high churchmen', who encouraged communicants to receive having fasted from the previous midnight, and were consequently encouraged by the Evangelicals. J. R. Woodford (1868-73), later Bishop of Ely, introduced a weekly early celebration of Holy Communion, placed flowers on the altar, organised a parish mission in 1871, and founded communicants' guilds of St. Peter for men and St. Elizabeth for women.²⁷ John Gott (1873-86), later Bishop of Truro, organised general missions in Leeds in 1875 and 1883 and founded the Leeds clergy school in 1875; his widely-read *Parish Priest of the Town* was based largely on his experiences in Leeds.²⁸ E. S. Talbot (1889-95), later successively Bishop of Rochester, Southwark and Winchester, held a fourth parish mission in 1892, began a daily celebration of Holy Communion in 1891, and founded a clergy house for his curates to enable them to live a common life.²⁹ But even under Talbot the ritual at the parish church was very moderate: 'we had the surplice and the black stole and nothing

²⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 500.

²⁶ H. Davies, *Worship and Theology in England, 1690-1850* (Princeton, 1961), 224; C. G. Lang, *Church and Town for Fifty Years* (Leeds, 1891), 13, 17. Atlay was as Bishop of Hereford denounced in *The Rock*, 26 October 1877, for sanctioning and attending a Requiem Mass in Hereford Cathedral.

²⁷ C. G. Lang, *op. cit.*, 24; F. J. Wood, *op. cit.*, iii, 14, 15, 17.

²⁸ C. G. Lang, *op. cit.*, 31-2, 37; F. J. Wood, *op. cit.*, iv, 9, 11, 12, 21.

²⁹ G. Stephenson, *Edward Stuart Talbot* (London, 1936), 78, 92, 93.

more. We had two lights upon the altar; and we took the eastward position'.³⁰ Despite this, his successor, E. C. S. Gibson (1895-1905), later Bishop of Gloucester, found himself in the embarrassing position of having the ritual at his church reported to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline of which he was a member. Mr. Henry Bell of Bradford visited the church for a week-day celebration on the feast of St. James, 25 July 1904. 'The bread used at the Communion was not ordinary bread but was of a light drab substance of the thickness of stout card, and seemed to have been compressed or rolled into its thin shape. The celebrant mixed water with the communion wine during the service. The paten he elevated to the level of his forehead, the chalice he elevated so that the bowl was visible above his head. Immediately after the Prayer of Consecration both the celebrant and the assistant, who was also a clergyman, prostrated themselves and remained so for some time. The manual acts were not visible to the congregation.' Gibson, who had not been present at the service, questioned his curates and eventually denied three of the charges. He claimed that the witness had been misled into thinking that wafer bread had been used in the service, by the custom of pressing ordinary bread 'in the vestry beforehand, in order to avoid crumbling'. He claimed that mixing the chalice in the service had been given up 'since the Lincoln judgement'³¹ and the chalice was now prepared 'before the commencement of the service'. He claimed that the charge of prostration was outrageous: 'they were both "meekly kneeling upon their knees"'. It is admitted that they bent low, but I do not consider it necessary to attempt to dictate to the assistant curates the particular angle at which the body shall be bent, when kneeling'.³²

The influence of Hook and Leeds parish church in liturgical matters was felt throughout Leeds, and this influence could be seen operating in four different ways. The retention by Hook of the patronage of several churches which were given separate parishes under the terms of the Leeds Vicarage Act of 1844 enabled 'high church' appointments to be made to these benefices in the

³⁰ Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Minutes of Evidence. Vol. iii. Cd. 3071, p. 99 (Minute 17868).

³¹ The Lincoln judgment of 1890, in which Archbp. Benson and five episcopal assessors decided in favour of Bishop King of Lincoln on most of the ceremonial practices about which the Church Association had complained.

³² Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Minutes of Evidence. Vol. ii. Cd. 3070, pp. 93-4 (Minutes 8154-8).

succeeding years. Even before 1844 Hook had managed to secure the appointment of sympathetic moderate 'high churchmen' to St. James's in 1839 (G. A. Poole) and St. Paul's in 1843 (T. Nunns),³³ and St. John's, Briggate, became 'high' shortly afterwards under Edward Monro, who founded a quasi-monastic guild in the parish in the 1850s.³⁴ In addition to direct patronage Leeds parish church was directly involved in the establishment of two new churches in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, All Souls and St. Aidan's, both of which were memorials to former vicars of Leeds, Hook and Woodford. Many of the curates at Leeds parish church were, at different times, presented to livings in Leeds and were able there to introduce the liturgical traditions in which they had been trained. And some parishes were just so impressed with the dignity of services at the parish church, and especially its choral tradition, that they were moved to emulate the example in so far as they could.³⁵

Between 1866 and 1882 successive vicars of Leeds used their patronage to appoint 'high churchmen' to six Leeds parishes. The first were John Gott, later himself vicar of Leeds, and F. G. Hume Smith, appointed to Bramley and Armley respectively in 1866. Gott managed to make very little liturgical headway at Bramley, but had introduced a weekly communion service, a harvest thanksgiving, and preaching in the surplice instead of the black gown by 1870.³⁶ Hume Smith, who rebuilt Armley church in the grand Tractarian manner, and was heavily criticised for doing so on grounds of both 'Popery' and expense, introduced daily services with Holy Communion on all Sundays and Holy Days.³⁷

In 1871, another 'high churchman', R. R. Kirby, was appointed to Chapel Allerton, and immediately introduced *Hymns Ancient and Modern*,³⁸ not yet free from the taint of 'Popery'. A new altar with a cross, two candles (not lighted until 1897) and vases of flowers, dossal and side curtains was installed in 1882, by which time Holy Communion was celebrated on all Sundays, Thursdays and Holy Days at 7.45 a.m.³⁹ Choral celebrations of

³³ W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, ii, 121.

³⁴ D. Hooke, *Extracts from Sermons preached at the Church of St. John the Evangelist* (Leeds, 1867).

³⁵ This was certainly so at Potternewton; see F. F. Heath, *Parish History 1881-1970* (typescript) with full references to early parish magazines.

³⁶ A. Dobson, *History of the Ancient Chapel of Bramley and the Church of St. Peter* (Leeds, 1964), 39 ff.

³⁷ Armley, St. Bartholomew: Parish Scrapbook.

³⁸ Circular, 13 May 1871, in Leeds City Archives Department.

³⁹ G. E. Kirk, *The Church in Chapel Allerton* (Leeds, 1949), 28-30; photographs on pp. 80-1.

the Holy Communion on the greater festivals were held from Whitsun 1886.⁴⁰ O. Cookson, appointed to Holbeck in 1879, had introduced daily services, Holy Communion on all Sundays and Holy Days, the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday, and lighted candles, all with the support of the parish, by 1892.⁴¹

The appointment of F. J. Wood, the strongly Tractarian curate of Leeds Parish Church, to Headingley in 1881, did not have the support of this, previously Evangelical, parish. In an open letter to the then vicar of Leeds, John Gott, Samuel Hatch of Oak Lodge asked that the vicar should exercise his patronage more wisely. He pointed out that Wood had been one of the clergy named in the *Ritualistic Conspiracy*,⁴² and that he was a member of the English Church Union:⁴³

'The English Church Union opposes Protestantism and reviles the Reformers and the Reformation ... [it] upholds the doctrine that the clergy are sacrificing priests ... maintains Ritual as the exponent of doctrine ... upholds the Confessional and shields Confessionals ... [and] seeks to abolish Evening Communion ... The Continuance, or abolition of Evening Communion may perhaps seem but a comparatively trifling question. But it is far otherwise: it is regarded, and rightly, as one of the few remaining signs of what in these advanced ritualistic centres [i.e. Leeds] is looked upon as decaying evangelicalism.'

'It must be perfectly well known to you as it is to others that the doctrines and practices held by him [i.e. Wood] are as diametrically opposed to his new parishioners as is darkness to light ... No need is there—God forbid it may ever be done at Headingley!—for the Lord's Table to be raised on a dais to resemble an altar ... As for the paraphernalia of Ritualism—in all its varied forms—what shall I say? There is no need of it at Headingley ... We must have no Confessional at Headingley—not the faintest shadow of a suspicion of anything of the kind.'

Gott politely ignored the protest, but Wood moved cautiously in liturgical matters. He introduced an altar cross, lighted candles and *Hymns Ancient and Modern* fairly quickly, but plain linen vestments were not introduced until shortly before his death in 1913; a daily Eucharist was introduced by his successor, G. A. Hollis, in 1914.⁴⁴ The last of these six 'high church' appointments by vicars of Leeds was that of Richard Bullock to Holy Trinity, Boar Lane, in 1882. Bullock had introduced a weekly communion

⁴⁰ *Parish Magazine*, June 1886, in Leeds City Archives Department.

⁴¹ Service Registers from 1879, in Leeds City Archives Department; R. J. Wood, *The Church of St Matthew, Holbeck* (Leeds, 1931), 14.

⁴² Reprinted from *The Rock*, 6 June 1873.

⁴³ S. Hatch, *Subjection: No, Not For An Hour* (Leeds, 1881).

⁴⁴ R. J. Wood, *St. Michael's, Headingley* (Shipley, 1957), 40-3, 49-50.

service, a monthly choral celebration and the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday by 1898.⁴⁵ Like that at Armley, the churches at Chapel Allerton and Headingley were rebuilt, both by 'high church' architects: Chapel Allerton by G. F. Bodley and Headingley by J. L. Pearson.

The patronage of the vicars of Leeds was later extended to the new churches of All Souls (Blackman Lane) and St. Aidan's (Roundhay Road); both began as 'high' churches in the tradition of Leeds parish church, but later became more Anglo-Catholic. All Souls, a memorial to Dean Hook, began as a mission in 1876, and the new church was consecrated in 1880: the first vicar was the late dean's second son, Cecil. Lighted candles were in use at All Souls by 1879, and a daily Eucharist with two celebrations on Sundays at 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. was introduced in 1882.⁴⁶ Cecil Hook's successor, A. E. Campbell (1891-1904), introduced vestments; a weekly Sung Eucharist, with deacon and subdeacon, held either at All Souls or its mission church of the Holy Name, founded in 1886 to serve the poorer end of the parish; a monthly Children's Eucharist; parish retreats; and five parish guilds, all with large and active memberships.⁴⁷ He was pressed to introduce more ritual by some parishioners but resisted: 'we ought not to have incense at All Souls until we have contributed a good, solid sum yearly to Foreign Missions'.⁴⁸ St. Aidan's, a memorial to Bishop Woodford, began as a mission in 1889, and the new church was consecrated in 1894. Both the mission and the new church always had lighted candles. A monthly Sung Eucharist was introduced in 1892, the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday in 1893, and the Blessing of Palms on the Sunday before Easter in 1897.⁴⁹

With a large staff of curates, sometimes a dozen at a time, Leeds parish church was an obvious recruiting ground for the patrons of other churches in the city. It was two former curates of the parish church who were responsible for the eventual 'high church' developments at St. Luke's, Beeston Hill, where F. T. Birch-Reynardson introduced daily services and a weekly early celebration of Holy Communion in 1888,⁵⁰ and Woodhouse, where

⁴⁵ Leeds, Holy Trinity: Service Registers from 1882; see also R. J. Wood, *Holy Trinity* (Leeds, 1966), 15-18.

⁴⁶ *Parish Magazines* from 1879, at Leeds Central Reference Library.

⁴⁷ A. E. Campbell, *A Memoir*, ed. G. T. S. Farquhar (Edinburgh, 1924), 47-72.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴⁹ Leeds, St. Aidan: *Parish Magazines* from 1891.

⁵⁰ Beeston, St. Luke: *Parish Magazines* from 1888.

D. M. M. Bartlett (1904-19) had some difficulty in persuading his new parishioners of the value of his innovations. 'There were objections to a new chapel being made for the daily services in a hitherto dusty corner of the church, to the increase of candles, to the introduction of ornaments and pictures, to the use of incense, to the practice of turning east for the Creed, and above all to Confessions.' Bartlett got over his difficulties by a mixture of strength and charm, 'but not without a last little struggle (over Confessions) involving a threat to resign by the vicar and his two curates.'⁵¹

In several other churches personal friendships with the vicars of Leeds or their curates, or mere emulation of a respected and cathedralesque institution, may well have assisted in bringing about liturgical changes modelled on the services at the parish church. Kirkstall had acquired a surpliced choir by 1875, altar frontals in the correct liturgical colours by 1879, and an altar cross, candlesticks and flower vases by 1897;⁵² a weekly Sunday celebration at 7.45 a.m. and daily services in church had been established by 1879, and the 'Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday was introduced in 1886.⁵³ At All Saints (York Road), P. Snaith Duval (1874-7) introduced daily services in church, a weekly communion service and monthly Sung Eucharist, the first parish magazine and *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. His Evangelical successor, G. F. Gibbs (1877-92), abolished the weekly communion service, which was restored by his successor, H. A. Kennedy (1892-1902), a 'high churchman' in the tradition of the Alcuin Club. He introduced plain linen vestments; frontals, stoles, chalice veils and burses according to the Sarum colour sequence; a side altar, altar crosses and candlesticks; banners and parish missions.⁵⁴

It will have been noted that the liturgical influence of Leeds parish church was largely restricted to the city's urban parishes. One rural parish that was affected, however, was Thorner. Richard Newlove, curate from 1835, and vicar from 1839 until 1872, rebuilt the church in 1854-5. At the consecration of the new church on 28 November 1855 Hook preached and the choir of

⁵¹ *Reminiscences of Canon D. M. M. Bartlett*, ed. A. M. Wilkinson (Ripon, 1969), 49; see also M. E. Frobisher, *Brief History of St. Mark's, Woodhouse* (Leeds, 1911).

⁵² Kirkstall, St. Stephen: Parish Terrier, pp. 14, 30, 38.

⁵³ Kirkstall, St. Stephen: *Parish Magazines*, 1879-1929.

⁵⁴ Leeds, All Saints: Service Registers from 1874; *Parish Magazines*, 1875-7; Inventory of Church Goods (in Service Register), 1896; see also *The Church of All Saints* (Leeds, 1950).

Leeds parish church sang. The walls of the sacrarium had maroon hangings with a yellow flower pattern, the altar had a beautiful cover of green velvet, the floor in the chancel had encaustic tiles and the steps of the font were decently cushioned.⁵⁵ Sir Stephen Glynn, Gladstone's brother-in-law, visiting the church in 1865, noted that 'the interior has undergone a pleasing and judicious restoration . . . The Chancel is raised and laid with fine ornamental tiles and stalled. The altar bears candlesticks'.⁵⁶

In Leeds as a whole the liturgical tradition begun at Leeds parish church by Hook, and kept more or less intact by his successors, has had a far more widespread influence than the more extravagant ritual experiments discussed in the next chapter. But both traditions were a part of the one movement. Hook's later denunciations of the more advanced Tractarians should not blind us to the similarity of the views held by him and by more moderate Tractarians nor to his own early acknowledgement that he was an 'Oxford Tract Man'. It should also be remembered that Hook was an almost exact contemporary of the early leaders of the Oxford Movement, and that they themselves regarded him as putting into practice in a parish setting what they were preaching and publishing at the university. The distinctions that are sometimes drawn by some, usually Anglican, writers between, on the one hand, the theologians of the Oxford Movement and, on the other, a miscellaneous group of alleged pre-Tractarian 'high churchmen', are both simplistic and misleading. There was undoubtedly a pre-Tractarian 'high church' tradition, in so far as there had always been 'high churchmen' somewhere in the Church of England from the Reformation onwards, but Hook represented this tradition no more and no less than did Keble, Newman and Pusey.

⁵⁵ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1 December 1855.

⁵⁶ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXIV (1917), 308-9.

Chapter 2

EARLY RITUALISM

IN 1839 THE ONLY CHURCH IN LEEDS to have a weekly Sunday celebration of Holy Communion at 8 a.m., as a separate service and not as an occasional extension of the customary morning service of Mattins, Litany and Ante-Communion, was St. James's, a non-parochial chapel near to the parish church, in the patronage of the vicar of Leeds. In 1843 Robert Aitken, one of the most interesting clerical figures of the nineteenth century, became curate-in-charge of St. James's. Aitken had an extraordinary career. Born in Scotland in 1800, he was confirmed in the Church of England in 1821 and became a schoolmaster at Whitburn, near Sunderland. He was ordained deacon in 1823 and priest in 1824, the same year in which he married an heiress. He was an honorary curate at Whitburn until 1825, and then from 1826 until 1829 was Evening Preacher at St. George's, Douglas, in the Isle of Man, where he underwent a conversion experience. Disowned by his bishop, he was welcomed by the Wesleyans and preached in their chapels throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire. His dramatic preaching was as unwelcome to some Wesleyans as it had been to most Anglicans and in 1834 his application to join the Wesleyan ministry was rejected. He then decided to form his own sect, called 'The Christian Society', and founded large chapels at Liverpool in 1836 and London in 1837. His first wife died in 1838 but he married one of his converts in the following year. In 1840, strongly influenced by the Oxford tracts, he decided to return to the Church of England, and his chapel in Liverpool was licensed as an Anglican church with Aitken as first incumbent until 1842. From 1843 until 1847 he was at St. James's, Leeds, at Hook's personal invitation. From 1848 until 1849 he was an incumbent in the Scottish Episcopal Church at Coatbridge, but moved to Cornwall in the latter year, at the invitation of the 'high church' Bishop of Exeter, Henry Phillpotts, to become first incumbent of Pendeen, where he built the church, school and parsonage, and where he died in 1873. Aitken was one of a group of 'Catholic Evangelicals' who combined 'high church' doctrine and ritual with a belief in 'instant conversion' and strong revivalist preaching;

throughout the 1850s and 1860s he used Pendeen as a base from which to conduct mission services throughout the country, including some in Leeds in 1854 and 1861.¹ According to one pamphlet writer 'if you listen to Rumour ... you will find that he is a Roman Catholic, or a Puseyite in disguise; then, that he is an Evangelical of the purest water; then, that he is a Methodist of the real Wesley style; then, that he is *mirabile dictu!*, neither'.² His ritualism, as exemplified by a Eucharist which included the *lavabo* and the mixed chalice,³ offended many Evangelicals as much as his revivalism disgusted many 'high' or merely conservative, churchmen.

At St. James's, Aitken set up a quasi-monastic community, similar to those organised by Newman at Littlemore and Faber at Elton.⁴ Hook had mixed feelings about the experiment:⁵

'I am very uneasy about Mr. Aitken. He is doing great things, but too quickly; he will be disappointed and then he may leave us. He has fitted up the schoolroom adjoining his church with cells, each containing a bed and a cross; he has some young men with him who have forsaken all; his rule is very strict; he has daily Communion; they fast till four every Wednesday, when he allows himself, and themselves, meat; on Friday they fast till four and then have fish. In the meantime he, having a family residing five miles away, sleeps in his cell four times a week — a thing I consider wrong as his wife complains of his neglecting his six or seven children. He sees this ought not to be, but until he has a curate neither he nor I see how it can be otherwise.'

By 1844 this small community numbered a newly-acquired curate, John Slatter, and three laymen, one of whom was Edward Jackson, who was ordained to a title at Leeds parish church in 1845, and succeeded Aitken at St. James's in 1847. Hook, in a letter to Gladstone, still thought 'this household may do much good, but I do not wish the plan to be connected with my name at present'.⁶ The community did not survive Aitken's departure from Leeds in 1847, brought about largely by his wife's, not surprising, dislike of the experiment.

Like Aitken, Edward Jackson was also a 'Catholic Evangelical', but of a much milder variety. He agreed with Hook about the excesses of the advanced Tractarians and he disliked the more emotional aspects of revivalism. Soon after his appointment he

¹ D. Voll, *Catholic Evangelicalism* (London, 1963), 43-6.

² *The Pulpit of Cornwall by Ishmael*, i (February 1859), 15.

³ *The Record*, 11 September 1854.

⁴ See P. F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*, revised ed. (London, 1964), 29-46.

⁵ Hook to Pusey, 20 November 1843, Pusey House Mss.

⁶ W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, ii, 227.

began a monthly evening communion service at St. James's, later started by Hook at Leeds parish church, to which he could eventually attract at least 400 and sometimes as many as 600 communicants; he always took the eastward position when celebrating though he disliked any other ritual. By 1850 he had started on Good Friday the practice of communal silent prayer in church from 12 noon to 3 p.m. for any who cared to join him, long before the more formal Three Hours' Devotion became popular. On New Year's Eve he held a special service of intercession followed by Holy Communion at midnight. Jackson was a strong believer in frequent Communion. He was horrified to discover, after his appointment as an honorary canon in 1875, that Ripon Cathedral only had a monthly celebration, and campaigned in Chapter for a weekly communion service, which was eventually introduced. He held the incumbency of St. James's until his death in 1892, after which it became a more traditional Evangelical church.⁷

St. James's was, however, a considerable influence on the parish of St. Saviour's, Ellerby Road, established after much discussion between Hook, Newman and Pusey, in 1845.⁸ St. Saviour's was always intended to be a parochial expression of the teachings of the Oxford Movement; 'so much is talked here about the Oxford sayings and writings', wrote Hook in 1839, 'that I should like also to let my people see what are Oxford doings'.⁹ The period between 1842, when the foundation stone of the new church was laid, and 1845, when the church was eventually consecrated, witnessed a change in Hook's feelings about the venture, which were later unfairly represented by Tractarian critics. The change was brought about largely by national and not local events. The growing rift between the Tractarians and the Anglican establishment, which culminated in the secessions to Rome of Newman, Faber and others in 1845, brought out all the anti-Roman Catholic feelings that most 'high churchmen' had in common with

⁷ L. and K. Sykes, *Sketches of the Life of Edward Jackson* (London, 1912); see also H. Wilson, *A Memento of St. James' Church* (Leeds, 1950).

⁸ All that follows is a summary of my Borthwick Paper, *The Oxford Movement and Parish Life : St. Saviour's, Leeds, 1839-1929* (York, 1975). See also J. H. Pollen, *Narrative of Five Years at St. Saviour's, Leeds* (Oxford, 1851); G. P. Grantham, *History of St. Saviour's, Leeds* (London, 1872); W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, ii, 190-204, 290-3; H. P. Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey* (London, 1893-7), ii, 466-501 and iii, 112-36, 355-68; S. Baring-Gould, *The Church Revival* (London, 1914), 266-89; and D. Bowen, *The Idea of the Victorian Church* (Montreal, 1968), 112-18.

⁹ W. R. W. Stephens, *op. cit.*, ii, 23; H. P. Liddon, *op. cit.*, ii, 467.

Evangelicals. The feelings were illogical, but they were both deep-rooted and widespread, and some of the more advanced Tractarians were unable to appreciate this. It was this mixture of fear and hatred of Rome that drove Hook temporarily into the anti-Tractarian camp, and it was the bitterness towards him of many Tractarians that prevented his full reconciliation with that party in later life.

Both Hook and the Bishop of Ripon, Longley, had begun to be uneasy about St. Saviour's well before 1845. Pusey's plans for a quasi-monastic college of priests and some of the proposed inscriptions implying belief in prayers for the departed and eucharistic sacrifice smacked rather of 'Popery' and had to be conceded. The main troubles of the church, however, arose from the patrons' (four advanced Tractarians including and dominated by Pusey himself) unfortunate choice of clergy to staff St. Saviour's. The first vicar was weak and unstable; the third doctrinally intractable; the fourth a devotee of the more emotional aspects of revivalism; and the fifth 'an inert individual, casual and somewhat slovenly'.¹⁰ Between 1845 and 1876, St. Saviour's had only one vicar who could have made a success of the experiment, A. P. Forbes, who unfortunately only held the living for a few months in 1847 prior to his election as Bishop of Brechin.¹¹ Many of the curates were also unstable; between 1845 and 1859, five out of nine curates, and two out of four vicars, seceded to Rome; three honorary priests at St. Saviour's also seceded to Rome in this period, and a substantial number of lay people. From its consecration in 1845, St. Saviour's had daily services in church with celebrations of the Holy Communion on Sundays and Holy Days. The clergy lived a common life according to a modified monastic *horarium*, rising for Prime at 7 a.m. and retiring after Compline at 10 p.m. A sermon by one of the curates, R. G. Macmullen in October 1846, in which the congregation were urged to seek the intercession of the saints in their prayers, resulted in his inhibition by the bishop. Macmullen reacted by seceding to Rome, along with two wealthy laymen, one of whom subsequently became a Roman Catholic bishop.¹² Hook demanded and secured the immediate resignation of the first vicar, Richard Ward, despite a memorial from 157 parishioners urging Ward to stay. A flurry of editorials condemned the practice and teaching at

¹⁰ S. Baring-Gould, *The Church Revival* (London, 1914), 288.

¹¹ See W. Perry, *Alexander Penrose Forbes* (London, 1939).

¹² Thomas Wilkinson of Hexham and Newcastle (1889-1909).

St. Saviour's, and several blamed Hook for encouraging its foundation. Thirteen Leeds clergy, mostly Evangelicals, signed a similar memorial of protest to the bishop.¹³ After a year of comparative peace during the incumbency of Forbes and two vacancies, the appointment of Thomas Minster to the vicarage in 1848 led to further difficulties. There was a significant advance in ritual observances, advanced for the time, though moderate by *post* 1860 national standards; the choir was surpliced; the daily services and Sunday Eucharist made fully choral; altar frontals, chalice veils and coloured stoles introduced; and the college cap discarded in favour of the biretta. Specific complaints were made to the bishop about locking the chancel gates, kneeling eastwards to read the collects, and muttering the services inaudibly. The only action taken by the bishop, however, was to prohibit the carrying of processional lights during the administration of baptism.

A minor crisis was brought about by the reception of the schoolmistress at St. Saviour's into the Roman Catholic church in January 1850, but a far greater outcry took place later in the year when it was alleged that two of the curates at St. Saviour's had compelled a female parishioner to make her confession sacramentally against her will, and had in the process asked her a number of indelicate questions about her pre-marital relationship with her husband. Minster and his curates were summoned at twenty-four hours' notice to appear before the bishop and six clerical assessors on 2 December to defend their actions. Of the six clergy two, Hook himself and Jackson of St. James's, had been early supporters of the Tractarians, but had taken a common dislike to their alleged 'Romanising'. There were also three Evangelicals who had signed the earlier protest to the bishop about St. Saviour's: Crosthwaite of St. Andrew's, Fawcett of Woodhouse, and Joseph Holmes, headmaster of the grammar school; the last of the six was Randall of All Saints, St. Saviour's neighbouring parish, who had been one of the church's severest critics and who had successfully poached upon its potential congregation.¹⁴ Although the curates

¹³ See *Leeds Intelligencer* and *Leeds Mercury* for 9 January 1847, and *British Magazine*, February 1847, on 'The Late Secessions in Leeds'. The clergy who signed the memorial included the incumbents of Woodhouse, Headingley, Christ Church, St. George's, Beeston, St. Luke's, St. Andrew's, Little London, Kirkstall and St. Philip's, and the headmaster of Leeds Grammar School.

¹⁴ The ecclesiastical census returns for 30 March 1851 reveal a total congregation of 1,059 for two Sunday services at All Saints, compared with a total estimate of 390 for the three services at St. Saviour's: Public Record Office, HO 129/501/1/3/10-11.

were cleared of the depravity alleged by some of their critics, both were inhibited by the bishop who, together with Hook, issued a strong attack on the practice of auricular confession and the more extravagant ritual practised at St. Saviour's. Effectively faced with the choice of modifying his teaching and practice or resigning the benefice Minster, though supported by 660 parishioners in a petition to the bishop, decided upon the latter course, only to find that events had overtaken him. In March 1851 the first vicar of St. Saviour's, Richard Ward, and a former curate, seceded to Rome; Minster and two of his three curates decided to take the same course. A new Roman Catholic mission, later the church of Mount St. Mary's, was established only a few hundred yards from St. Saviour's and attracted to it several former worshippers at that church.

Hook's criticism of St. Saviour's and of Pusey's weakness in dealing with the situation—he consistently urged that the patronage should be voluntarily surrendered by Pusey and his colleagues and vested in the bishop—brought him into conflict with many of the more advanced Tractarians, and some of them wrote him abusive letters which they were later to regret:¹⁵

'I am most ready to admit, what perhaps in my letters to you I did not allow so plainly as I should, that there has been going on at St. Saviour's much to vex you and to cause you great alarm and uneasiness. I never meant to defend them through thick and thin—simply I thought that the reports of their goings on by the time they reached your ears were greatly exaggerated. If I have said anything to imply that you have been in any way a Persecutor, I am very sorry and beg to retract it—in defending my friends I seemed to censure you—and this could not be helped if I spoke at all... I hope by God's helping peace may soon be restored at Leeds and that St. Saviour's may be the means of strengthening you and comforting you.'

Not all Hook's critics were so generous. The bitterness provoked by the St. Saviour's crises effectively placed a barrier between Hook and many other 'high churchmen' for several years after the events. On the other hand many Evangelicals blamed the excesses of St. Saviour's on Hook's teaching at Leeds parish church, and were unable to see the distinctions Hook himself made in the 1840s and 1850s between his position and that of the more advanced Tractarians. As a result Hook found himself very much isolated theologically, and this may well have been a factor in his failure to secure a bishopric. Certainly he himself thought of St. Saviour's as having ruined much of his achievement at Leeds parish church.

¹⁵ W. U. Richards to Hook, Septuagesima 1847, Coatalen Mss, L(1) 13.

The appointment of J. W. Knott as fourth vicar of St. Saviour's in 1851 was little comfort to Hook; the new vicar forsook the errors of Romanism only to be infected with those of Methodism. A chance meeting with Robert Aitken at Oxford led to the former incumbent of St. James's being invited to conduct one of his highly individualistic missions in the parish: 'a kind of revival was initiated, and ... a somewhat unwholesome, sensational religion appeared to be indulged in by many'.¹⁶ The mission and its effects at St. Saviour's, where a belief in instant salvation swept through the clergy and congregation, was vigorously condemned by Hook. The ritual of the services was marginally reduced by Knott from what it had been under Minster, and St. Saviour's did not become a fully ritualist church until after 1870. When Knott resigned the living in 1859, later to become a missionary in India, he was succeeded by Richard Collins, his curate from 1854 until 1856, a protégé of Aitken's, though without his powers as a preacher.¹⁷ In many ways the incumbencies of Knott and Collins at St. Saviour's between 1851 and 1876 were a long interregnum between the excitement of the earliest Tractarian parochial experiment outside London, and the church's second phase as a typical and successful ritualist church of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century during the long incumbency of John Wylde (1877-1929).

Two parishes which had direct connections with St. Saviour's in the early days were the then rural ones of Adel and Shadwell, the latter still at that time a chapelry of Thorner. Shadwell church was rebuilt in 1842, but Frederick Hathaway, curate-in-charge from 1846, improved the interior according to the customary Tractarian standards. The walls of the apse were adorned with tapestry and the floor with encaustic tiles; six windows in the nave and three in the apse were filled with stained glass from Belgium.¹⁸ Hathaway assisted at St. Saviour's during the two vacancies in 1847, and in 1848, when the bishop refused to license Seton Rooke to a curacy at St. Saviour's, he was licensed to a curacy at Shadwell on the understanding that he was to work effectively in the parish of St. Saviour's. Rooke was one of the clergy attached to St. Saviour's who seceded to Rome in 1851,

¹⁶ G. P. Grantham, *op. cit.*, 30; see also O. W. Jones, *Isaac Williams and His Circle* (London, 1971), 126-34.

¹⁷ S. Baring-Gould, *Further Reminiscences, 1864-94* (London, 1925), 20.

¹⁸ G. E. Kirk, *A Short History of the Parish Church of St. Peter, Thorner, with Some Notice of the Chapel and New Parish Church of St. Paul, Shadwell* (Leeds, 1935), 25.

and Hathaway himself became a Roman Catholic in the same year.¹⁹ George Lewthwaite, rector of Adel from 1809 until 1854, was a strong supporter of the St. Saviour's clergy between 1845 and 1851, and his son, vicar of Clifford, was another who seceded to Rome in the latter year. A later rector, Arthur Standidge (1874-88), was a well-known attender at ritualist gatherings in Leeds in the 1870s and 1880s. An excellent restoration of the fine twelfth-century church was carried out according to Tractarian principles by the 'high church' architect, G. E. Street. At the reopening of the church, on 16 April 1879, the afternoon and evening preachers were two prominent local 'high churchmen', Temple of St. John's, Briggate, and Wylde of St. Saviour's, and the new altar was furnished with a cross and two candles.²⁰

Another church organised on strong and fairly advanced Tractarian lines was Stanningley during the incumbency of C. F. Booker, between 1864 and 1875. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was introduced immediately in 1864, and on Christmas Day 1865 there was a partly choral communion service at 8 a.m. By 1868 there were six candles on the altar and ten along the top of a temporary screen, erected for festivals and decorated. The first fully choral communion service was held after Morning Prayer on 14 February 1868, by which time (if not earlier) the church had a surpliced choir. There was a harvest festival in 1868 and special devotional services in Lent 1869. In 1870 the sanctuary was paved with encaustic tiles and a credence table introduced. The dedication festival of the church was kept every year with great solemnity. The Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday began in 1873, and in the following year Booker noted that it consisted of a meditation on the Seven Last Words and the Fourteen Stations of the Cross. Processions had also begun in 1873. On 26 April 1875 Booker noted that from then on he would have 'Daily Service at 7.45 a.m. and 7.30 p.m. with Holy Eucharist on all festivals', but this and many of his other innovations were not continued by his successors.²¹

The first outwardly and aggressively ritualist church in Leeds by national standards was St. Barnabas's, Holbeck, of which Nicholas Greenwell had been appointed first vicar in 1855.²²

¹⁹ G. P. Grantham, *op. cit.*, 14-15, 20, 33.

²⁰ W. H. Draper, *Adel and its Norman Church* (Leeds, 1909), 174, 176.

²¹ Stanningley, St. Thomas: Churchwardens' Notebook (from 1864), ff. 1-133.

²² Most of what follows is based on Greenwell's own Ms notes on his ministry at St. Barnabas's, together with newscuttings and other miscellanea, inserted in the fly-leaves of the baptismal registers of the parish, now in Leeds City Archives Department.

Between 1848 and 1854 Greenwell had served curacies at St. Matthew's, Holbeck, and Leeds parish church, and does not appear to have been considered a ritualist at that time. Indeed the ritual at St. Barnabas's was very moderate at first. In 1862 it became the first Leeds church to use *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, published in the previous year; a harvest festival was held, again for the first time in Leeds, in the autumn of 1865, and this later became one of the great events at the church, as Greenwell himself notes in 1876:

'The services of the day were very elaborate in the way of Ritual and Music...Lights were used at the reading of the Gospel and at the Elevation of the Blessed Sacrament...There were nine acolytes in scarlet cassocks with albs and cottas; of these the two servers wore girded albs and zuchettos and the crucifer and thurifer girded albs. The rest of the boys were in cottas. The crucifix and banners were carried in procession before *Missa Cantata* and at the conclusion of Evensong, incense being used at both processions. The music was very beautifully and effectively rendered by a large choir...the Mass *Schubert in F* and the anthem in the evening (part of Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*) was sung with orchestral accompaniment.'

A local newspaper report of the same services noted that there were some forty to fifty lighted candles in church, that both preacher and congregation crossed themselves, and that the liberal use of incense produced feelings 'either of drowsiness or nausea' among the congregation. These special services with hired orchestras were regularly advertised in both the *Yorkshire Post* and the *Leeds Mercury*, and the congregations were frequently so large that some people had to be turned away.

After the initial success of the harvest festival in 1865, Greenwell decided to quicken the pace of his innovations; at Christmas that year he held a Midnight Mass at which two lighted candles, vesper lights and eucharistic vestments were introduced for the first time; the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday began in 1866 and was later extended into a series of services lasting all day from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m.; incense was used non-ceremonially at Mass and Vespers from 1868, and ceremonially from 1871; a moveable confessional was installed in 1869 and copes were used in processions from 1870; in 1872 Greenwell placed six candles on the high altar and began to use an altar gong and to ring the church bell at the *Sanctus* and the elevation; between 1870 and 1876 the service of *Tenebrae* was held on the evening of Good Friday, but was 'discontinued for no particular reason'; funerals at St. Barnabas's included a modified version of the Roman Catholic

absolution rite. During this ten-year period St. Barnabas's had been acquiring the full paraphernalia of ritualistic worship, although little of it belonged to the church. A list of moveable ornaments dated 1869 included only an altar cross, two candlesticks, four flower vases, a dossal and frontal for the altar, a credence table, surplices for the choristers and books for the celebrant, deacon and subdeacon.²³ A later list, in which the articles are said to have been Greenwell's 'sole private property', included the following:²⁴

Two birettas
 Eight sets of vestments in all liturgical colours
 Three copes — red, white and violet
 Albs, surplices, amices and white girdles
 Corporals, linen palls, purificators, credence covers and lavabo napkins
 Nine coloured stoles
 Six altar candlesticks 'on the upper retable'
 An altar gong with striker
 Thurible, incense boat and spoon
 A sanctuary lamp 'hanging before the altar'
 A small box for hosts and altar breads
 Cruets and cruet dish
 Fourteen Stations of the Cross
 Confessional screen with crucifix and faldstool
 A picture of the crucifixion 'over the pulpit'
 Twelve banners for various seasons
 Two scarlet cassocks and tippets for acolytes with two linen cottas
 Two vesper light stands with four candlesockets in each
 Three pulpit hangings — green, white and violet
 Two candle-lighters
 Three altar cards
 A glass bowl for Holy Water
 An asper
 A Mass Book

As might be imagined St. Barnabas's was the gathering place for the ritualistic societies in the north-east of England; from the late 1860s the parish could boast flourishing branches of the Guild of St. Alban, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and the English Church Union, the last two of which each had memberships of about fifty. Greenwell himself was a member of the

²³ Holbeck, St. Barnabas: Vestry Minute Book, 1863-87, in Leeds City Archives Department, pp. 15-17. Various other gifts were made to the church or bought from the proceeds of special collections, as for example new surplices for the choir, albs for the servers and vestments for the clergy in 1874 (p. 48). In 1875 there was an appeal to the parish for funds to extend the vestry because 'the room has now become totally inadequate to contain the increased number of choir and altar assistants' (p. 59).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 83-7.

priests' Society of the Holy Cross, and the northern chapter of this society used St. Barnabas's as its meeting place during his incumbency.

But ritualism was not only the only thing that St. Barnabas's had to offer in this period; following the example of St. Saviour's, which had ministered to the working classes of East Leeds, especially during the cholera epidemic of 1849,²⁵ the church became a centre of missionary work among the working classes of South Leeds. During Greenwell's incumbency there were three enormously successful parish missions, in February 1866 (conducted by A. H. Mackonochie of St. Alban's, Holborn), in March 1869, and from 24 September to 8 October 1876. These missions acted as a stimulus to those who were anxious to have a general mission in Leeds, and these eventually took place throughout the city in 1875 and 1883. How far the missions increased Greenwell's own congregation it is difficult to gauge; Easter communicants numbered only 150 in 1879, and some of these would have come from outside the parish. The good work done by Greenwell in the mission field meant that his extreme ritualism was not the target of constant attack in the local press, which was on the whole extremely kind in the comments it made on his work at St. Barnabas's. Part of Greenwell's mission was to encourage, as the clergy of St. Saviour's had done, auricular confession, and he used the opportunity of the 1866 mission to place the following notice in the church porch:

‘The Revd. N. Greenwell attends in the church
TO HEAR CONFESSIONS

Every Wednesday after Evensong, and every Saturday from Three to Five, and from Seven to Nine p.m.

Arrangements to hear Confessions at other times can be made on application.

BOOKS OF PREPARATION FOR CONFESSION

The Plain Guide	2d and 4d each
Pardon through the Precious Blood	4d each
Carter on Repentance	1s each
Can be had of Mr. SMITH, Bookseller, Commercial St., Leeds.’	

In 1874 Greenwell published a sixteen-page tract entitled *Priesthood, Confession and Absolution*, a carefully written and closely argued exposition of Tractarian teaching on the three

²⁵ See *Christian Remembrancer*, January 1850, reprinted in J. H. Pollen, *op. cit.*, 225-50.

subjects. At a conference of Leeds clergy his eloquence on the subject, especially his view that regular confession was of the greatest use in the moral training of the working-class youth, made such an impression on one Evangelical present that 'the tears came into his eyes, and he put his hand across the table to Mr. Greenwell and said with a choke in his voice, "You are dealing with your factory folk in a way I never knew, and doing what I have never been able to do".'²⁶

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of Greenwell's ministry was that until the last few years he was not restricted in any way by the bishop, Robert Bickersteth, an Evangelical who believed in leaving his clergy to go about their business, unless forced to interfere. But by 1876 Greenwell's health was failing; he had been without a curate for almost ten years and now needed one if he was to carry on. Two years previously the Public Worship Regulation Act had come into force, and it was obvious to the bishop that Greenwell was in clear contravention of Anglican practice in most of his liturgical arrangements. At the time of the Act the churchwardens and sidesmen of St. Barnabas's had presented the following memorial to the Archbishops and Bishops in Convocation which read:

'We, the undersigned laymen, faithful and loyal members of the Church of England, the Catholic Church of this land, most respectfully approach your Right Reverend House, and desire to express our matured opinion that the use of special distinctive Eucharistic vestments is desirable to impart greater decency and solemnity to the highest act of public worship in the Church of England, and that such use would tend to reverence and edification.'

This was of course a straight reply to Archbishop Tait who had claimed in a House of Lords speech that the laity hated vestments. Despite the strong support of Greenwell's congregation, the bishop was not prepared to license a curate to a parish which deliberately broke the law; on the other hand he had no intention of taking any legal action against Greenwell. Greenwell published the correspondence between the bishop and himself in the *Church Times* on 29 December 1876, and this was followed a week later on 5 January 1877 by a vigorous editorial headed 'Unjustifiable Homicide' in which the writer condemned the bishop on the grounds that his decision would probably bring about Greenwell's death, in which case he would be morally if not technically guilty of murder. Between 1878 and 1880 the parish managed to pay,

²⁶ S. Baring-Gould, *The Church Revival* (London, 1914), 306.

with great difficulty, the stipend of a curate, Ralph Blakelock, who officiated without a licence. For two years Greenwell was again without a curate, until in 1882 the bishop relented and licensed John Groves, chaplain to Lord Halifax, at Temple Newsam, to act as a curate in the parish on a temporary basis. During the last seven years of his ministry at Holbeck Greenwell was forced to convalesce for long periods and there were times when the week-day services were discontinued. In 1883 Greenwell reluctantly resigned the living for the lighter cure of a small country parish in South Wales, with a long Tractarian tradition, where he died in 1885; his farewell letter dated 6 June 1883 from the rectory at Llangasty-Talyllyn contained the following passages:

‘Those of you who may wish for church services such as you have been accustomed to, will find them in parts of the town where formerly none similar to them were to be found. It is but a reversal of things. In earlier days our friends came to St. Barnabas’ from distant localities; now you may have to take their place, and seek for teaching and ritual in churches that approximate to that to which you have for so long been accustomed...

‘I may say in conclusion that I have heard within the last few days that your efforts to obtain the appointment of the Revd. J[ohn] Groves to the living have failed. This is a matter of deep regret to me, as I feel assured that he would have served you well, both in the parish and church.’

Greenwell was in fact succeeded by H. S. Butler, formerly a curate at Leeds parish church, a ‘high churchman’ but no ritualist; he immediately discontinued the use of incense, discarded coloured vestments in favour of a plain linen one and altered the time of Sung Eucharist on Sundays from 10.30 a.m. to 11.15 a.m. to allow for Choral Mattins beforehand. Coloured vestments were reintroduced by Butler’s successor, A. G. Robins, in 1896, but St. Barnabas’s never again aspired to the position of leadership among the ‘high’ churches of Leeds which it had held in the 1870s.²⁷

In one respect, at least, Greenwell was prophetic. Writing for the benefit of his parishioners, he summed up his own feelings about the critics of ritualism:²⁸

‘The thing which one generation calls Popish, in the same the next can see no Popery at all. The Cross in baptism was once denounced as Popish, but who hears now of persons objecting to bring their children to baptism on account of its being used? It was once Popish

²⁷ *Memorials of St. Barnabas’, Holbeck* (Leeds, 1904).

²⁸ Pusey House Library, Pamphlet No. 5881, *The ‘No Popery’ Cry about Ritualism* [by N. Greenwell, Leeds, n.d.].

to have altars in our Churches where they now stand, but who hears now of any person finding fault with their position on this account? The surplice was once Popish, now it is a seemly decent vestment. Choral services were a few years ago considered Popish, now there is scarcely a consecration or reopening of a church, or a harvest festival, without a choral service. The weekly offering was Popish, now it is a scriptural way of collecting money. A Cross on the nave or chancel of a Church was regarded as a mark of the beast, now even Protestant meeting houses are so adorned. Eucharistic vestments and altar lights are now the objects of the "No Popery" cry; but judging from what has taken place with regard to the things mentioned, in a short time, no doubt, they will also be accepted as a matter of course.'

They were beginning to be so accepted within a few years of his death.

Chapter 3

LATER RITUALISM

BY THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ritualism had almost become respectable. Between 1882 and 1901 the proportion of Anglican churches using vestments increased by 90%, those using candles by 140%, and those using incense by 1,200%.¹ The situation was much the same in Leeds despite the fact that both St. Philip's and St. Barnabas's, Holbeck, had ceased to be ritualist churches. After 1900 the ritualist churches in Leeds formed two distinct groups: a number of inner city parishes, led by St. Hilda's and St. Saviour's, and a substantial group of parishes in the Whitkirk deanery to the south and east of the city.

In the 1850s and 1860s St. Saviour's had gone through a great period of crisis and lethargy, under the disastrous incumbencies of Knott and Collins, but it began to recover after 1867 when G. P. Grantham came as curate to the latter. It also became more openly ritualist: 'candles were lighted at all celebrations, an altar cross purchased, and the legal vestments procured'.² By 1872 the church had Sunday celebrations of Holy Communion at 7.10 and 11.30 a.m., with additional celebrations on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Holy Days; confessions were heard on Wednesdays after Evensong and at other times by arrangement.³ The parish Guild of the Holy Cross was reconstituted in 1868, and three other guilds (those of St. Aloysius, St. Agnes and St. Nicholas) were subsequently established and had a total membership of 82 by 1872, by which time there were also parochial branches of the English Church Union and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.⁴ In 1872 an orphanage and sisterhood was founded in the parish,⁵ and important extensions were made to the east end of the church: 'the sacristy is very spacious and commodious; it has been extended this year by the erection of an inner sacristy,

¹ Vestments 336 (13%) in 1882 to 2,158 (24.8%) in 1901; candles from 581 (22.5%) to 4,765 (54.8%); incense from 9 (0.35%) to 393 (4.5%); adapted from the statistics in W. O. Chadwick, *Victorian Church*, ii, 319.

² G. P. Grantham, *op. cit.*, 31.

³ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 85

or chapel, containing an altar and everything requisite'.⁶ Grantham left shortly afterwards and Collins died in 1876. He was succeeded by John Wylde, vicar from 1877 until his retirement in 1929, perhaps the most successful of all the ritualist clergy in Leeds and certainly the most loved and respected. The records of St. Saviour's include several of Wylde's sermons and retreat addresses in manuscript, and a daybook for the first fifteen years of his ministry; this, however, reveals little apart from the names of parishioners visited each day. Wylde's early years at St. Saviour's were not entirely free from conflict. Shortly after his institution he noted that 'some little dissatisfaction was expressed at what some feared were developments in a Ritualistic direction ... It was thought dangerous to light candles in the daytime ... Some little good seemed to be done by talking it out'.⁷ It looks as if the departure of Grantham had brought about an anti-ritualistic reaction in the mid-1870s. Wylde began regular parish retreats in 1883 and a weekly Sung Eucharist in 1888, the same year in which a requiem, described when first mentioned as a 'Black Mass',⁸ was publicly celebrated. The first major expansion of Holy Week services on more Roman lines took place in 1892, with the holding of the service of *Tenebrae* on Maundy Thursday, and of one entitled 'Litany, Ante-Communion and Reproaches' on Good Friday. But Wylde was too much of a Prayer Book man to go much further than that.

The new parish of St. Hilda was carved out of St. Saviour's in 1885, but had been projected for several years before that. E. B. Pusey, writing to Arthur Stanton in 1865, claimed he had urged the building of a chapel-of-ease 'in vain ... for nearly twenty years',⁹ and the plan materialised only after Wylde's appointment to St. Saviour's in 1877. The new church, in Cross Green Lane, was consecrated on 18 September 1882, two days after the death of Pusey, who had contributed £654 towards its completion. The success of the new church and parish was brought about by the financial support of Mrs. Meynell-Ingram of Temple Newsam combined with the strong personalities of the incumbents, H. J. Sharp (1889-1908) and his successor, J. S. Willimott. A weekly Sung Eucharist had been established by 1890;¹⁰ a daily Eucharist

⁶ *Ibid.*, 46

⁷ St. Saviour, Day Book, 6 November 1877.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 7 July 1888.

⁹ G. W. E. Russell, *Arthur Stanton, A Memoir* (London, 1917), 59.

¹⁰ St. Hilda, *Parish Magazine*, February 1890.

and regular parish missions were begun in 1892.¹¹ The catholicism of both Sharp and Willimott owed more to the Middle Ages, suitably Victorianised, than to the Church of Rome; in the vestment colour sequence Sarum blue was substituted for Roman violet in Advent and Lent, Passiontide red was added in 1914 and festal yellow on white in 1916. High Mass became a weekly affair in 1914, when the necessary dalmatics and tunics were purchased. Incense and Sarum sequences were introduced in 1909; perpetual reservation of the sacrament and the imposition of ashes on Ash Wednesday in 1911, the same year in which funeral candlesticks, a processional crucifix and two confessionals were bought. *Ave Maria* was recited regularly from 1917.¹²

Both St. Hilda's and St. Saviour's churches were visited by Mr. H. C. Hogan on behalf of the Church Association on Sunday, 17 April 1904, the substance of what he saw being reported to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.¹³ At St. Hilda's he witnessed the wearing of a biretta and vestments by the celebrant. The preparation was said by the celebrant and servers during the opening hymn, after which the celebrant kissed the altar. The Ten Commandments and the Prayer for the King were omitted. At the gospel the celebrant made the sign of the cross on his forehead, lips and breast, and after the reading he kissed the gospel book. At the offertory the chalice was ceremonially mixed and the *Lavabo* performed. 'There was a pause before the Prayer of Humble Access, during which the celebrant seemed to be reading secretly from an altar card in front of him ... A hymn, in which was a reference to the presence of Jesus "on the altar now" was then sung, and during the singing the celebrant was evidently engaged in secret prayers and ceremonies, frequently making the sign of the cross over, and genuflecting before the Consecrated elements.' Previously, in the consecration, the manual acts had been hidden, both wafer and chalice had been elevated, and the sacring bell had been rung. Out of a congregation of about 120, only six communicated. A similar scene was witnessed at St. Saviour's, at a service attended by about 300 people. There were six lighted candles on the altar and two before it. The celebrant wore vestments, the preparation was made during the opening hymn, and the altar, on which were three altar cards,

¹¹ J. S. Willimott, *The Story of St. Hilda's* (Leeds, 1932), 35-7.

¹² St. Hilda, Parish Inventory (begun 1908).

¹³ Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Minutes of Evidence. Vol. i. Cd. 3069, pp. 29-31. (Minutes 319-28), pp. 382-3 (Minute 5929).

was kissed afterwards. At the gospel the same ceremonies were observed as at St. Hilda's, at the offertory the chalice was ceremonially mixed and the *Lavabo* performed, at the consecration the manual acts were hidden, the chalice and paten elevated, and the sacring bell rung. During the singing of the *Benedictus* and the *Agnus Dei* 'the celebrant was obviously engaged in secret prayers and ceremonies at the altar. Towards the end of the *Agnus Dei* the celebrant turned round, and holding up what looked like a small wafer in his hand descended two steps, but no one approached and he returned to the altar. There were no communicants ... After performing the ablutions he went to the north corner of the altar and making the sign of the cross upon himself read secretly what was presumably the Last Gospel, genuflecting at the words, presumably, "And the Word was made flesh".' Both incumbents replied to the allegations made against them. Sharp of St. Hilda's protested that his congregation, 'which consists almost entirely of working people and parishioners, are able to join heartily and intelligently in our services, and have shown themselves in unmistakeable ways to be enthusiastic in support of their clergy and church. We have a roll of 500 communicants, all working people'. Wylde of St. Saviour's was contemptuous of the allegation that he had concealed the manual acts. 'The supposition that any man would take the trouble to do any ceremonial act which at the same time he was at pains to conceal, seems to me inexpressibly silly. Surely any man with a grain of sense—sooner than hide a ceremonial act which he was doing—would omit the act altogether! What in the name of common sense could be the use of a ceremony that he wanted nobody else to know about? Moreover, what I and the thousands of other clergymen who think and believe as I do, desire above all things, is that everybody should know what we do and why we do it.'

A third, but more moderate, ritualist church in late Victorian Leeds was Christ Church, Meadow Lane, no more than mildly Tractarian during the incumbency of J. G. Smith (1859-91), who gradually introduced a surpliced choir, credence table, altar vases and candlesticks, banners, altar frontals, burses and chalice veils, a processional cross and vesper lights, and *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.¹⁴ His more advanced successor, H. A. Butler (1891-1908), installed a full set of Stations of the Cross and other holy pictures on the walls of the church, without applying for a faculty, much

¹⁴ Christ Church. Parish Terrier, *passim* (Leeds City Archives Department).

to the indignation of a Protestant parishioner, Arthur Silcock. Butler and his churchwardens then applied for a faculty to retain most of the pictures, but Silcock objected to the Stations of the Cross and to a picture of the crucifixion over the pulpit. In 1898, in a consistory court judgement in favour of Silcock, an order was given for the offending pictures to be removed.¹⁵ Between 1908 and 1916 Christ Church had two Evangelical incumbents, but the Anglo-Catholic tradition was restored, rather more aggressively, by A. B. Carter (1917-22) who introduced vestments and a weekly Sung Eucharist. In the first quarter of the present century several more inner city parishes became more outwardly Anglo-Catholic. At St. Aidan's, Roundhay Road, under W. V. Mason (1911-21) a weekly Sung Eucharist was gradually introduced after 1912 and more emphasis placed on the value of sacramental confession; H. O. Parnell (1921-9) introduced the public observation of the feasts of All Souls and Corpus Christi, Stations of the Cross, a guild of Our Lady, and reservation of the sacrament.¹⁶ At All Souls P. T. Browning (1918-34) introduced a second altar, a weekly Sung Eucharist, incense and reservation.¹⁷ A new Anglo-Catholic church, financed by Mrs. Meynell-Ingram of Temple Newsam, was founded at St. Edward's, Holbeck, in 1904.

Almost contemporary with these events was the interesting development of ritualism in a number of parishes in the Whitkirk deanery. In 1898 Mrs. Meynell-Ingram of Temple Newsam, dissatisfied with the churchmanship at Whitkirk, her parish church, bought the advowson from Trinity College, Cambridge, and presented to the living a conservative Tractarian, Gerald Sharp, who immediately employed G. F. Bodley to instigate a thorough restoration along strict medievalist lines. Sharp introduced vestments, but incense and a weekly Sung Eucharist to replace Mattins were not introduced until the incumbency of E. W. Wilson (1915-23). Two former curates of Whitkirk, C. P. Shaw (1904-7) and R. B. Phillips (1910-14), became Roman Catholics in 1915.¹⁸ At Barwick-in-Elmet vestments and a weekly Sung Eucharist were introduced by R. H. Harvey (1910-33). Two parishes that acquired vigorous Anglo-Catholic incumbents in 1919 were Rothwell and Middleton, the vicar of the former being the patron of the latter.

¹⁵ Ripon Diocesan Registry, Faculty Book no. 5, pp. 321-5.

¹⁶ St. Aidan, *Parish Magazines* (complete from 1891), *passim*.

¹⁷ All Souls, *Parish Magazine, Jubilee Supplement*, 1930. (Leeds Central Reference Library.)

¹⁸ G. E. Kirk, *A History of the Parish Church of St. Mary, Whitkirk* (Leeds, 1935), 34-7, 51-2.

Prior to 1919 there had been two Tractarian incumbents at Rothwell. W. B. Pierson (1894-1908) introduced a weekly early communion service, the 'Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday and Sung Eucharists on festivals.¹⁹ E. G. W. Bence (1908-19) introduced 'the great privilege of meeting Our Lord in the daily Mass', a weekly Sung Eucharist to replace Mattins, the hearing of confessions 'after any service or by appointment', and the blessing of palms on Palm Sunday.²⁰ In 1912 the parish acquired set of green and violet vestments from St. Alban's, Leamington Spa.²¹ H. S. Branscombe (1919-42) succeeded, not without opposition, in moving the parish into an even more uncompromisingly Catholic position. Soon after his induction he 'asked and was granted permission to place a tabernacle on the altar and also to have a bell in the tower rung during the celebration of the Mass'.²² The parochial church council was, however, divided on the introduction of incense, a minority wishing to seek the approval of the bishop;²³ they supported the introduction of a Midnight Mass at Christmas²⁴ and an annual half-day parish retreat,²⁵ but vetoed the proposed purchase of a vestment chest,²⁶ and the singing of the *Kyries* instead of the Ten Commandments at the Sung Eucharists provoked a good deal of hostile comment.²⁷ Middleton had had a Tractarian tradition from at least the incumbency of A. J. Miller (1880-7), who introduced a weekly early communion service in 1883.²⁸ Miller was a committee member of the Leeds branch of the English Church Union;²⁹ A. G. Clarke, curate of Middleton, became a Roman Catholic in 1889.³⁰ C. T. B. Wilkinson (1915-19) introduced a fortnightly Sung Eucharist, the observance of the feast of All Souls, and the 'Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday. Under the more extreme Anglo-Catholic A. E. Horner (1919-27), the sacrament was reserved

¹⁹ Rothwell, Service Registers (1871-97) and Parish Scrapbooks.

²⁰ Rothwell, Leaflet for Holy Week and Easter, 1914.

²¹ Rothwell, Vestry Minute Book, 12 February 1912.

²² *Ibid.*, 17 October 1919.

²³ Rothwell, Parochial Church Council Minute Book, 25 October 1920.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 30 November 1926.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 8 November 1927.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12 March 1925.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 29 April 1929.

²⁸ Middleton, Service Registers 1881-97. (Leeds City Archives Department.) The Tractarian tradition may pre-date 1880, if judged by the church plate presented in 1852, the style of which is thoroughly Camdenian right down to the wording of the Latin inscriptions. The Parish Terrier notes choir surplices by 1881 and coloured altar frontals by 1890.

²⁹ *Church Union Gazette*, 1884, p. 241.

³⁰ *Ritualistic Clergy List* (London, 1903).

in a tabernacle on the high altar and Sunday Mattins was replaced by *Missa Cantata*. The innovations were accompanied by a course of apologetic sermons entitled 'I don't like High Church', 'I don't like Sung HC' and 'I don't like Confession'. In 1920 the parish was introduced to the Mass of the Presanctified on Good Friday, and the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady was publicly observed for the first time.³¹

The ritual innovations at Whitkirk, Rothwell and Middleton were generally accepted by their respective congregations, but similar developments at Shadwell and Manston aroused rather more controversy. Shadwell had been the scene of an earlier Tractarian experiment between 1846 and 1851, but this had ceased with the secession of the incumbent to the Church of Rome, and a weekly Communion Service was not established until 1900. During the incumbency of Albert Chadwick (1905-16), an early celebration at 8 a.m. on all Sundays was instituted, together with a devotional service at 2 p.m. on Good Friday and the use of linen vestments. Chadwick was in fact an extreme 'high churchman', having been a member of the Society of the Holy Cross since 1887, and four meetings of the St. Wilfrid's chapter of the society were held at Shadwell between 25 June 1907 and 9 September 1915; at one meeting Chadwick 'said that working in a Protestant parish makes one very thankful for the amount of Catholicity in the Prayer Book'.³² Chadwick's successor, C. M. Cordeaux (1916-18), began a Sung Eucharist on alternate Sundays at 10.30 a.m., with Mattins sung beforehand at 9.45 a.m., and Compline on Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m.³³ But the real changes took place under the next incumbent, Douglas Ferrier (1918-39). Ferrier was theologically no more 'high church' than his predecessors, but he was prepared to demonstrate his Catholicism more openly and aggressively than they had. Mattins was discarded and replaced by a weekly Sung Eucharist; a daily communion service was introduced; the devotional service on Good Friday was replaced by the Three Hours' Devotion. However, other more advanced services and ceremonies were not introduced for several years,³⁴ and the communion services were not publicly

³¹ Middleton, Service Registers 1909-26. (Leeds City Archives Department.)

³² Minutes of St. Wilfrid's Chapter, 14 April 1909.

³³ Shadwell, Service Registers from 1897.

³⁴ Blessing of Palms on Palm Sunday 1921; vespers of the Dead and Requiem Mass on All Souls' Day 1922; Midnight Mass at Christmas 1924; Imposition of Ashes on Ash Wednesday and full Holy Week Ceremonies 1925; Stations of the Cross, 1926. Ferrier attended the Anglo-Catholic Priests' Convention at Oxford in 1921.

referred to as Masses until 1921. The troubles in the parish were provoked less by the liturgical changes introduced by Ferrier, than by his radical refurnishing of the church, which was so small that the alterations could not very satisfactorily be concealed from their critics. A large clothed statue of Our Lady dominated the nave and the apsidal sanctuary was given a new Baroque reredos by Martin Travers, who designed for many fashionable Anglo-Catholic churches in the inter-war period. Ferrier had begun to reserve the Blessed Sacrament in a temporary tabernacle in 1920, but a permanent tabernacle was included in the lower part of the new reredos, installed in 1924; the upper part, which had to be built around the windows of the apse, was not completed until 1927. Another cause for grumbling among a vociferous minority in the parish was Ferrier's introduction of Solemn Evensong and Benediction on Sunday evenings, which meant that parishioners who liked a plain service without incense were no longer catered for. Solemn Evensong had been introduced as an occasional service only in 1922, but had become weekly by 1928, entirely because of its popularity with most parishioners, who had asked Ferrier to make the change.

Left to themselves it is doubtful if the parishioners of Shadwell who had disliked Ferrier's innovations would have taken any action to restrain him. But in 1926 a Mr. Heap, deliberately posing as an Anglo-Catholic, was appointed schoolmaster at Shadwell. He immediately began to stir up trouble in the village and was supported by two dissatisfied parishioners of longer standing, Messrs. Umpleby and Sagar-Musgrave. They complained to the Bishop of Ripon, the Evangelical E. A. Burroughs, about the services at Shadwell. The bishop passed the complaint on to Ferrier who informed his parochial church council. The council recorded their 'complete agreement with the vicar' and described the complainants as 'non-churchgoing parishioners'.³⁵ A meeting was arranged between the bishop, his legal secretary, the vicar and the secretary of the parochial church council. When Ferrier and the secretary arrived at the meeting they discovered that the bishop had also invited the complainants to take part and they departed in disgust. A private meeting was later arranged between Ferrier and the bishop, who complained about the installation of a confessional without a faculty and suggested that Ferrier should agree to put on a plain Evensong for the benefit of his

³⁵ Shadwell, Parochial Church Council Minute Book, 15 June 1928.

less ritualistic parishioners.³⁶ 'Fr Ferrier agreed to this, and wrote to Mr Umpleby asking him to call at the Vicarage some time on [the following] Saturday ... Mr Umpleby refused to come, but said he would be in his potting shed on Monday from 9 to 12 if the vicar wished to see him. Fr Ferrier naturally refused to do this, considering it was for Umpleby to come to him', but after consultation with his council reluctantly agreed 'to try the plain Evensong for a time'.³⁷ Further complaints were then made to the bishop about the ornaments and services in Shadwell church, and the bishop threatened to deprive Ferrier and to influence the patron, the vicar of Thorner, to present a 'lower' incumbent. Ferrier was told by his council that he had their full support and that he must not resign the living; they condemned 'the unchristianlike attitude displayed towards them by the Bishop in the present dispute', and threatened to make the whole issue public in the press unless he agreed to discuss the whole matter with them.³⁸ The bishop dismissed the ultimatum as an insult; after a further interview with the bishop, Ferrier informed his council that concessions would have to be made.³⁹ The bishop had meanwhile stopped part of Ferrier's stipend, an annual grant of £35 from the Harrison Trust.⁴⁰ At the annual parish meeting in 1930 there was a bitter confrontation between Heap and Ferrier:⁴¹

'Mr Heap then spoke at some length, wherein he expressed a wish that a reasonable compromise be effected for both parties in the church, and when Fr Ferrier asked what he considered as a compromise, Mr Heap suggested a Choral Eucharist and Plain Evensong. Fr Ferrier replied that one already had a Choral Eucharist; he had also given them a Plain Evensong and the church had emptied. The actual trouble in the village was of comparatively recent origin, and when Mr Heap was appointed schoolmaster Fr Ferrier understood that he was more Catholic than he had since shown himself to be. Fr Ferrier however said definitely there would be no compromise. Fr Ferrier also said that the interests of the church could be better served by contributing to the Free Will Offering than by making trouble in the village.'

But the complainants had meanwhile been applying for a faculty to remove various fittings from the church, notably the tabernacle and the shrine of Our Lady. Ferrier approached the English Church

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 20 July 1928.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 8 August 1928.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 11 March 1929.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 19 March 1929.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1929.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 21 April 1930.

Union for help in opposing the faculty but they were unwilling to take up the case; a local petition against the faculty was signed by a large number of parishioners, but the legal costs of opposition would have been too great for the parish to bear and Ferrier had to advise his council not to fight.⁴² They agreed, reluctantly, but wrote to the bishop to inform him that he had 'been grossly misinformed about the affairs of this parish [which] as a whole is at peace and unanimity' and that they were 'unanimous in upholding the Vicar in his fight for the honour of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament'.⁴³ The faculty, ordering the removal of the tabernacle, various statues and holy water stoups, was granted in November 1930, and the council agreed that Ferrier should remove the items rather than Messrs. Heap, Umpleby and Sagar-Musgrave, to whom the faculty had been granted. Ferrier declared that reservation would not be given up but that 'the Blessed Sacrament would be exposed on the open altar'.⁴⁴ However, the fact that the tabernacle was built into the reredos meant that it was impossible to remove it without dismantling the reredos, which the faculty had not ordered. The sacrament was temporarily reserved in the aumbry designed to house the holy oils, but after a few months Ferrier began to use the tabernacle again, and the other items which had been removed were gradually reintroduced. The troubles of the parish were not resolved for many years.

At Manston the Shadwell situation was seen in reverse. The opponents of Anglo-Catholicism were in a majority, and not in a minority in the parish, and successive vicars could not count on the wholehearted loyalty of their parochial church council. Otherwise, the points at issue were very similar. Manston had been an Evangelical parish until 1898, when H. H. Malleson, who had been trained at Cuddesdon,⁴⁵ was presented to the vicarage. Malleson immediately introduced *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and a weekly communion service, the Three Hours' Devotion on Good Friday in 1901 and a regular Friday celebration in 1915.⁴⁶ A brass altar cross and carved oak retable was subscribed to by thirty parishioners in 1899, and coloured altar frontals introduced shortly afterwards.⁴⁷ Malleson's successors, C. L. Smith (1916-17) and J. H. R. Abbott (1917-19) introduced a weekly Sung Eucharist

⁴² *Ibid.*, 15 May 1930.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 20 May 1930.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 25 November 1930.

⁴⁵ G. E. Kirk, *Manston Church and Schools* (Leeds, 1952), 29.

⁴⁶ Manston, Service Registers from 1884.

⁴⁷ G. E. Kirk, *op. cit.*, 12, 14.

on Sundays at 11 a.m. preceded by Mattins at 10.15 a.m., a procession on Palm Sunday and an additional week-day celebration.⁴⁸ Abbott was succeeded by a more advanced Anglo-Catholic, C. E. Russell (1919-25), who introduced a daily Mass — the word was also used for the Sunday communion services — Solemn Evensong with incense, the full Holy Week ceremonies, and so on; in December 1919 he proposed to the parish that their war memorial should take the form of a hanging rood.⁴⁹

Within a month of Russell's induction, Arthur Lee, a member of the Protestant Church Association, who was also a member of the Manston Church Council, asked Russell to abandon the Sung Eucharist introduced by his predecessors and to replace it with Mattins as the chief Sunday morning service, to be held at 10.30 a.m. Russell declined and used his casting vote to defeat a proposal that a plebiscite should be held in the parish.⁵⁰ Three months later, however, he agreed to make no further changes in the services before Easter 1921 without the approval of the council.⁵¹ The council then directed its attention to the ornaments of the church and voted to apply for a faculty to remove the crucifixes from the church.⁵² Russell's decision, contrary to his earlier promise, to change the time of Mattins on Sundays from 10.15 a.m. to 7.30 a.m. led the council to protest to the bishop; the members demanded that Mattins should be held at 'a reasonable hour' and requested the bishop to undertake an early inquiry 'into the lawless practices and Romish doctrine that is openly preached and practised in this church'.⁵³ A joint meeting was arranged between the bishop and the council to discuss the problems of the parish.⁵⁴ The bishop urged compromise and Russell agreed to restore Mattins to 10.15 a.m. and to let it be a choral service.⁵⁵

Compromise was made virtually impossible by Arthur Lee's

⁴⁸ Service Registers; Smith became vicar of Potternewton where he also introduced a weekly Sung Eucharist, in 1917; candles and vestments had been introduced by Smith's predecessor, Prebendary Cook (1910-17). Both Russell and Taglis who succeeded one another as vicars of Manston after 1919 had previously been curates to Smith at Potternewton. See F. F. Heath, *Parish History of St. Martin's Church, Potternewton, 1881-1970* (typescript), 55, 69.

⁴⁹ Manston, Ms extracts from *Parish Magazines*, 1911-19.

⁵⁰ Manston, Church Council Minute Book, 3 November 1919.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2 February 1920.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 5 July 1920.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 10 November 1920.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 13 December 1920.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 14 January 1921.

establishment of a Manston Parochial Lay Society, the objects of which were 'to safeguard lay interests in the church; to do everything possible to bring about the control of church finance by the laity; to see that the laity have a voice in the choice of an incumbent; to discountenance illegal or Romish practices in the Church of England ... [and] to have the choice of service most desired'.⁵⁶ By the autumn of 1921 the church council, dominated by Lee, had resolved not to vote money for any purposes until the parish was run the way they wanted, and to petition the bishop on Russell's proposed introduction of incense.⁵⁷ The bishop wrote to Russell requesting him not to introduce incense, but the request was ignored, and the council decided to print the bishop's letter and to circulate it to all parishioners on the electoral roll. They also decided to apply for a faculty to remove the thurible and incense boat, an altar gong, the portable lights used at the elevation, and the eucharistic vestments.⁵⁸ The bishop, however, advised the council not to apply for the removal of the vestments as 'there is a real arguable case in favour of them'; he thought the council could reasonably apply for the removal of the other items.⁵⁹ At the rival Church Association meetings held to coincide with the Leeds Anglo-Catholic Congress in June 1922, Arthur Lee, by then people's warden at Manston, drew attention to the latest local controversy over ritual, and the progress he and his supporters were making in their attempts to restrain an Anglo-Catholic vicar.⁶⁰

The dispute over church finances reached its height in 1923. The collections at services were appropriated by the vicar and his churchwarden, but the other funds of the parish were in the control of the council. In an attempt to control the church collections as well, two members of the council attended Evensong on Sunday, 8 April 1923, to take the collection themselves. At the end of the service there was a procession with incense, Russell wearing a cope and biretta. When he reached the two council members he informed them that they were irreverent and would be better off outside the church. When they refused to leave, Russell said to them 'May the curse of God rest upon you both in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost'. The Church

⁵⁶ Manston, *Journal of the Parochial Lay Society* (front cover).

⁵⁷ Church Council Minute Book, 28 September 1921.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 December 1921.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6 February 1922.

⁶⁰ 'Anglo-Catholicism and the Leeds Congress 1922', bound volume of newscuttings in Leeds Central Reference Library, p. 33.

Council resolved to report the incident to the bishop and to ask that Russell should be inhibited from officiating in the parish until the whole matter had been investigated.⁶¹ The bishop eventually appointed a commission of inquiry under the suffragan Bishop of Knaresborough, who was also Archdeacon of Leeds and Rector of Methley, which met at Leeds Church Institute on 27 May 1924.⁶² In its report, the commission concluded that the spiritual life of the parish of Manston had effectively broken down, with Russell an unwelcome visitor in many houses, and with two separate systems of finance, and recommended that, in view of his 'lack of sympathetic understanding of so many of his parishioners', Russell should resign the living.⁶³ Russell, however, was unwilling to resign, and did not do so until the bishop issued letters of request to the provincial court of York to proceed against him.⁶⁴ As soon as Russell had resigned, the church council resolved to petition the bishop for the appointment of an 'Evangelical' vicar who would provide '*moderate*' services [my italics]; they thought that services similar to those held in Leeds parish church, once thought to be scandalously 'high church', would be generally acceptable, and that a Choral Eucharist instead of Mattins on one Sunday in the month would be tolerable.⁶⁵ The bishop authorised the council to remove all illegal ornaments, including a 'Children's Altar' from the church, in accordance with the faculty they had obtained, but asked that the fortnightly Sunday evening services and weekly Sunday schools, organised by the Manston Parochial Lay Society in the Cross Gates Recreation Hall since the cursing incident, should be discontinued.⁶⁶

The appointment of a successor to Russell was not a matter for the bishop. The patron, R. H. Harvey, the Anglo-Catholic rector of Barwick-in-Elmet, nominated G. R. Taglis, the equally Anglo-Catholic curate of Potternewton,⁶⁷ to howls of protest from the Lay Society. During the vacancy both Mattins and Sung

⁶¹ Church Council Minute Book, 13 April 1923.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 22 May 1924. The other members of the commission were J. K. Mozley, Principal of Leeds Clergy School, Canon Sutcliffe Thomas of St. Edmund's, Roundhay; and two laymen, J. P. Hubbersty and Hugh Lupton.

⁶³ Church Council Minute Book, 20 October 1924.

⁶⁴ *Journal of the Manston Parochial Lay Society*, January 1926.

⁶⁵ Church Council Minute Book, 24 April and 7 August 1925.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4 September 1925; *Journal*, June and November 1925.

⁶⁷ According to F. F. Heath, *op. cit.*, 77, Taglis was 'the most Anglo-Catholic priest we have ever had at St. Martin's ... Not everybody agreed with the ritual practised by Mr. Taglis, but of his popularity in other directions and his kindness there was no doubt'.

Eucharist had been held on Sundays, both 'fully choral', but the use of both vestments and incense had been abandoned by the priest appointed by the bishop to take the Sunday services. The weekday services had been maintained by Harvey acting on his own initiative; one critic wondered 'what would happen if some clergyman went into Barwick church and conducted services there without asking Mr. Harvey's permission'.⁶⁸ After negotiations between the bishop, the patron and the vicar-designate, Taglis was instituted 'without any elaborate ceremonial' which the Lay Society took 'as a good augury for the future', and the archdeacon appealed to the parishioners to help the new vicar bring the parish back to normality.⁶⁹ Taglis agreed to a compromise service structure, with Mattins or Sung Eucharist at 10.30 a.m. on alternate Sundays, as an experiment for three months, and not to reintroduce the use of incense, gospel lights and an altar gong.⁷⁰ The compromise formula was continued after the three months' experiment; Taglis took the view that it had worked by calling for sacrifices from both Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical parishioners.⁷¹ But the Lay Society began to desire further concessions in their direction, such as the abandonment of the elevation in the Eucharist or the wearing of scarf and hood at Mattins and Evensong, which Taglis was unwilling to make; they had also ignored the bishop's earlier request to discontinue their Sunday school which still assured parents that their children would learn nothing there which was not in strict accordance with the Thirty-Nine Articles.⁷² Arthur Lee, whose status in the parish had risen even higher with his election to Leeds City Council in 1926, claimed to have noticed an 'odour ... when entering the church', but Taglis denied that he was using incense.⁷³ The impending crisis finally broke when Taglis tried to make all members of the choir attend the 10.30 a.m. service on Sundays, irrespective of whether it was Mattins or Sung Eucharist,⁷⁴ and a special meeting of the church council attended by both the bishop and the archdeacon was held on 24 November 1926; Taglis had been vicar for just over a year. The opinions expressed at this meeting by various members of the congregation are of interest. Mr. Clark took the view that the

⁶⁸ *Journal*, November 1925.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, December 1925.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, January 1926; Church Council Minute Book, 9 November 1925.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 18 March 1926.

⁷² *Journal*, September 1926.

⁷³ Church Council Minute Book, 4 October 1926.

⁷⁴ *Journal*, December 1926.

vicar was attempting to make the parish Anglo-Catholic, but in such a way that people would not notice it happening. Mr. Lee said 'peace had not come, because the church needs the Church of England type of Catholic and not the Roman Catholic type of Catholic Vicar', though it is doubtful if this is what he really meant. There was some discussion about the significance of the chasuble being lifted up by an acolyte at the elevation, which had caused at least one member of the congregation to stay away from 'the Mass Service'. Mr. Backhouse claimed that 'the services were no better attended now than forty years ago', despite the rapid increase in the population of the parish, but that 'there were excellent congregations during the interregnum'. The bishop asked if it was not possible for a list of concessions to be agreed between the vicar and the church council, but Mr. Harland retorted 'that there was no possible minimum list of concessions. The people of Manston could never be at peace with an Anglo-Catholic Vicar'. The minority Anglo-Catholic support for the vicar came from Mr. Burn who 'hoped that it might be possible to have the Sacrament reserved at Manston in future'.⁷⁵ Indeed this was the real source of trouble in the parish. Even if Taglis had wanted to make further concessions to the church council, he would have been strongly urged not to by a minority group, equally vociferous though not so well organised as the Lay Society, who wanted the parish to develop along more aggressively Anglo-Catholic lines. It is doubtful if any incumbent could have managed to unite the parish; Taglis was remarkably tactful but, despite Arthur Lee's remarks about 'the Church of England type of Catholic Vicar', it is doubtful if the Lay Society would have accepted any non-Evangelical incumbent.

After consultation with his supporters in the parish,⁷⁶ Taglis eventually agreed to alter the service structure early in 1928; Mattins was to be sung every Sunday at 10.30 a.m., preceded by Sung Eucharist at 9.30 a.m., and Taglis allowed prominent local Evangelicals to preach at Mattins at the invitation of the Lay Society.⁷⁷ The church council welcomed this arrangement, but still asked Taglis to abandon the use of vestments at the Communion services.⁷⁸ By 1931 further conflict had broken out and the council resolved 'that owing to the hopeless condition of the parish under

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, January 1927.

⁷⁶ Church Council Minute Book, 16 May 1927.

⁷⁷ *Journal*, February and August 1928.

⁷⁸ Church Council Minute Book, 30 January 1928.

Anglo-Catholic rule' they should ask the bishop 'to use his best endeavours to find the Vicar a new living where his teaching would be more acceptable'.⁷⁹ In fact Taglis remained vicar of Manston until 1950, and died shortly afterwards, worn out by the conflicts; he gradually managed to build up a personal following in the parish, and the Lay Society, eventually outnumbered by his supporters, seceded from the Church of England to their own independent Evangelical chapel, which became a part of the Free Church of England in 1949.⁸⁰

One important offshoot of later Anglo-Catholicism was monasticism, but few religious orders worked in Leeds during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Four communities of nuns worked in Leeds for brief periods. The Community of the Holy Rood, founded in 1858, had its mother house and home for orphan and destitute children in Leeds from 1870 until 1876 when it removed to Middlesbrough; at the time it was one of only two convents in Yorkshire, the other being the Community of St. Peter in the Tractarian Parish of Horbury, founded in the same year.⁸¹ The Society of All Saints, founded in 1851, established an orphanage and mission house in Leeds in 1878.⁸² In 1880 a few Sisters of Charity were sent from the mother house in Bristol to work in the parish of St. Saviour's.⁸³ The short-lived Sisterhood of St. Agnes also worked in Leeds, as well as in Bradford and Nottingham, between 1884 and 1887.⁸⁴ Only one Anglican community of monks worked in Leeds; the Community of the Resurrection, founded in 1892, established a hostel for university students, called the Priory of St. Wilfrid, at Leeds in 1904. The buildings, designed by Temple Moore, were completed in 1928.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 April 1931.

⁸⁰ *History of the Free Church of England* (London, 1960), 109.

⁸¹ P. F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*, revised ed. (London, 1964), 373.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 324.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 416.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 530.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 135

Chapter 4

SOCIETIES AND PROTEST

DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE nineteenth century important changes took place in the improvement of links between the national organisations of the Church of England and its individual parishes. An important factor in these changes was the establishment of weekly church newspapers and national church societies. Many of these newspapers and societies took up strong party positions, and in some cases were deliberately established to do so. The earliest Anglican weekly newspaper was the *Record*, founded in 1828; it was from the first strongly Evangelical. The leading Tractarian newspapers were the *Guardian*, founded in 1846, and the *Church Times*, founded in 1863.¹ In the matter of church societies it was the 'high churchmen' who made the first moves with the Society of the Holy Cross (1855), the English Church Union (1859), the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament (1862) and the Guild of All Souls (1873). The main Evangelical societies were the Church Association (1865) and the (inter-denominational) Protestant Truth Society (1889). The true importance and influence of these societies has never been fully appreciated by church historians; there has been no study of the Protestant societies, and the Catholic societies were last thoroughly examined, and then tendentiously, by Walter Walsh in his *Secret History of the Oxford Movement* published on behalf of the Church Association in 1897.

The most popular of the 'high church' societies was the English Church Union, and it was particularly active in Leeds, where it functioned as the main focal point of Catholic pressure with members in most 'high church' congregations. The membership of the Leeds branch, which stood at 250 in 1883, increased by 20% in one year to 301 in 1884; there were separate parochial branches at St. Hilda's and St. Saviour's with memberships of 98 and 35 respectively.² By 1890 the membership of the Leeds branch had

¹ The *Record* ceased separate publication in 1949 and the *Guardian* in 1951; the *Church Times* is still with us, though now an establishment and not a party newspaper.

² *Church Union Gazette* (1883), 87, 161 and (1884), 40, 61.

increased a further 15% to 346, and in 1895 it was decided to divide the city between two branches, East and West.³ The Union was not just supported by ritualist parishes; in Leeds, for instance, anniversary services were held by the Union in the 'high' but non-ritualist churches of All Souls and Holy Trinity in 1884.⁴ The Catholic Union for Prayer, founded in 1867, under the general auspices of the English Church Union, counted among its early members G. P. Grantham, curate of St. Saviour's, and W. A. Brameld, later vicar of Wortley and Chapel Allerton.⁵ Several Leeds clergy also took a part in national proceedings organised by the English Church Union. In 1873 the vicar of St. John's, Briggate, took part in a London demonstration and seconded a resolution in support of the Athanasian Creed.⁶ In 1898 the vicars of All Saints, St. Hilda's and Bramhope were among those who signed a memorandum requesting the bishops to enforce a proper observance of the Ornaments Rubric.⁷ In 1899, at a meeting of incumbents in London, John Wylde, vicar of St. Saviour's, seconded a resolution that 'the clergy owe it to the whole Catholic church of Christ faithfully to refuse to obey any demands, even though they come in the name of authority, which conflict with the law, usages, customs and rites of the church ... which have canonical authority'.⁸

The smaller and more specialised Catholic societies, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament and the Guild of All Souls, were also represented in Leeds. The Confraternity, which aimed to stimulate eucharistic devotion, had parochial wards at St. Saviour's, established in 1875, and St. Hilda's, established in 1889.⁹ The first Leeds parish to support the Guild, which aimed to encourage prayers for the departed, was St. Barnabas's, Holbeck;

³ *Ibid.* (1890), 225 and (1895), 45.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1884), 62.

⁵ Lambeth Palace Library, Church Union Deposit 54, pp. 9, 36. W. A. Brameld (1853-1922) was vicar of Wortley (1890-7) and Chapel Allerton (1904-14). Between 1897 and 1904 he was vicar of St. Stephen's, Lewisham, a church noted for elaborate ritual, but appears not to have attempted such extreme innovations in either Leeds parish. I owe the information about Brameld's career to Canon R. J. Wood. Brameld's successor at Wortley was an Evangelical (see below).

⁶ G. B. Roberts, *History of the English Church Union* (London, 1895), 148.

⁷ Lambeth Palace Library, Temple Papers, vol. 28, ff. 182, 185, 193; a copy of the memorandum will be found at ff. 157-8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 31, f. 197.

⁹ Information from the Revd. Peter Hawker, Secretary-General of the Confraternity. Most of the early records of the Confraternity were apparently destroyed in the late nineteenth century to prevent their falling into the hands of Protestant publicists like John Kensit or Walter Walsh.

the vicar, Nicholas Greenwell, became a member in 1878,¹⁰ and special requiems were held at the church in 1881 and 1882, though discontinued after Greenwell's retirement to Llangasty Talyllyn in 1883. Annual requiems were held at St. Hilda's from 1882 and St. Saviour's from 1883, with monthly requiems at both churches from 1885. In 1883 the Guild presented sets of black vestments to both St. Hilda's and St. Saviour's, and in 1892 contributed three guineas towards the purchase of a black cope for St. Saviour's.¹¹ A Leeds branch of the Guild was founded in 1909 with J. S. Willimott, vicar of St. Hilda's, and a member of the Guild's national council since 1905, as the first superior; the early clerical members included W. A. Brameld of Chapel Allerton, H. S. Branscombe of Rothwell, P. T. Browning of All Souls, B. Guyer and E. W. Wilson of Whitkirk.¹² A Leeds branch of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament was established in 1919.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a majority of the more advanced 'high church' clergy were members of the wholly clerical Society of the Holy Cross, a body which, more than any other of the 'high church' societies, particularly infuriated Protestant public opinion, largely, one suspects, because of the secrecy of its proceedings. A local chapter, known as the St. Wilfrid's chapter, was inaugurated at the Leeds Church Institute on 19 August 1868. The first members in Leeds were Richard Collins, vicar of St. Saviour's,¹³ Nicholas Greenwell, vicar of St. Barnabas's, Holbeck, J. M. Fawcett, vicar of St. Philip's, and Ralph Blakelock, chaplain at Temple Newsam. G. P. Grantham, curate of St. Saviour's, joined the society in 1871.¹⁴ J. R. Woodford, then vicar of Leeds and later bishop of Ely, was twice invited to join the society, but there is no evidence that he ever did.¹⁵ Greenwell was the most active of the early members. Between 1868 and 1875 the local chapter met seven times at Holbeck, and Greenwell acted as its delegate to national synods on three occasions; he was the local vicar in 1876-7, and treasurer from 1877 until 1880. Greenwell was a strong advocate of the disestablishment of the Church of England and the chapter passed

¹⁰ Guild of All Souls, Subscription List, 1873-82.

¹¹ Guild of All Souls, Annual Reports 1883 and 1892, pasted into Guild Scrapbooks, 1873-93.

¹² Guild of All Souls, List of Branches, pp. 426-7.

¹³ J. Embry, *The Catholic Movement and the Society of the Holy Cross* (London, 1931), 18; Collins joined the society whilst in London in 1855 but never attended a meeting of the St. Wilfrid's chapter.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9, 415.

two resolutions supporting his views.¹⁶ He was also particularly valued for his great interest in and knowledge of confessional practice, on which he had written a short tract,¹⁷ and even after his death in 1885 his opinions were still being quoted.¹⁸ The St. Wilfrid's chapter did not forget its responsibility to deepen the spiritual lives of its members; day retreats were arranged in 1873 and 1877, and during the Leeds Church Congress in 1872 the chapter, in co-operation with the Leeds branch of the English Church Union, maintained an oratory in which the society office was recited daily. The St. Wilfrid's chapter was badly weakened during the national debates over *The Priest in Absolution*; three members resigned,¹⁹ and Greenwell suggested that the society itself should be dissolved. In fact no meetings of the local chapter were held between 1 April 1880 and 9 November 1885. Greenwell had been succeeded as local vicar by John Wylde, the new vicar of St. Saviour's, in 1877; two years later Wylde was appointed to a national committee of the society looking into the sacrament of unction.²⁰ But Wylde was a conservative ritualist who found himself to be out of sympathy with the prevailing papalism of the society and he gradually withdrew from membership; he resigned as local vicar in 1885 and ceased to attend chapter meetings in 1890. His curate, W. F. Ramsden, at one time local secretary, resigned from the society altogether in 1895, though he rejoined it at a later date.

The Leeds clergy played no further part in the proceedings of the St. Wilfrid's chapter until the appointment of several more advanced 'high churchmen' to Leeds parishes after 1900: Albert Chadwick at Shadwell, J. S. Willimott at St. Hilda's, Brett Guyer at Whitkirk, H. S. Branscombe at Rothwell and G. R. Taglis at Manston.²¹ Discussions at chapter meetings were usually lively, with pronounced differences apparent between the papalist and

¹⁶ Minutes of St. Wilfrid's Chapter, 7 December 1870 and 14 February 1871.

¹⁷ *Priesthood, Confession and Absolution* (Leeds), [n.d., c. 1870s].

¹⁸ Minutes of St. Wilfrid's Chapter, 14 June 1870: Greenwell gave the chapter 'much valuable information regarding Penance and the subject of Confession generally'. *Ibid.*, 2 June 1887: 'an opinion of our late Brother Greenwell was quoted, viz. that there is a tendency to make Communion too cheap'.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 21 March 1879.

²⁰ J. Embry, *op. cit.*, 173.

²¹ Four meetings were held at Shadwell between 1907 and 1915; nine at St. Hilda's between 1910 and 1933; three at Whitkirk between 1911 and 1920, seven at Rothwell between 1919 and 1934, and four at Manston between 1929 and 1935. G. R. Taglis became secretary and treasurer of the St. Wilfrid's Chapter on 11 April 1924.

anti-papalist members. The anti-papalists were led by Willimott, who was also chairman of the local branch of the Federation of Catholic Priests; Willimott, supported by Branscombe, opposed making celibacy a condition of society membership,²² and, though he regarded the proposed revisions of the Prayer Book as 'grossly unsatisfactory',²³ protested 'against the use of the Roman rite in the solemnisation of Mass at the late [national] Synod, instead of the authorised rite of the Church of England'.²⁴ A more papalist position was, however, taken by Brett Guyer in a paper entitled 'What are we aiming at?':²⁵

'We do not regard the Church of England as having a real existence in the divine plan of the World, but as an unfortunate heritage left to us as the result of certain evil occurrences which took place in the sixteenth century. It is the result of sin and imperfection and can never be an ideal. We have another ideal, that of a great Catholic church, of which we are a small insignificant part. This is good for our national pride, which is unchristian in the highest degree ... Each individual we make into a good Catholic, each parish that becomes a true, solid Catholic parish is a little bit added to the Vision. But it must be our contribution to the whole, to the Catholic Church, and not to the Church of England, which is a phantom of men's minds.'

It was such opinions that would, had they then been known, have provided ammunition for the Protestant propagandists.

Protestant opinion in Leeds was not very well organised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the leadership was to be found among Methodists and other dissenters rather than among Anglican Evangelicals. The leading Evangelical church was St. George's, taking this position under its first vicar, William Sinclair. Sinclair was, however, 'too good a man to be an active divider', and was generally absolved from being a party to the antagonism that existed between St. George's and Leeds parish church before the appointment of John Gott as vicar of Leeds in 1873; Gott and the third vicar of St. George's, Samuel Adams, were between them responsible for establishing better relations between the two churches, and, to an extent therefore, between the 'high' and 'low church' traditions in the city.²⁶ Adams was a great contrast to his predecessor, John Blomefield, who in a surviving

²² Minutes of St. Wilfrid's Chapter, 26 January 1922.

²³ *Ibid.*, 29 January 1924.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17 June 1924.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 September 1910.

²⁶ *Letters of Bishop Gott*, ed. A. J. Worlledge (London, 1919), 161-2. Gott to J. T. Inskip on his being offered the living of St. George's, 28 June 1904.

leaflet to his confirmation candidates,²⁷ revealed the extreme Evangelicalism of his theological position:

'The consecration of the bread and wine makes no change in them ... but simply sets them apart for a holy use ... Christ is not present after the consecration of the bread and wine in any sense in which he was not present before ... The words *this is my body* are not to be taken literally, but figuratively ... *is* constantly means *represents* in scripture.'

The leaflet went on to explain that the priest was only an elder, that the *Lord's table* was not an altar and that Communion should not be received fasting as it was originally given in the evening *after Supper*. There is some evidence that Blomefield's extreme Evangelicalism did not win the full approval of all his parishioners. Dr. J. D. Heaton (1817-80), one of the patrons of the living and a regular worshipper at St. George's, described Blomefield as 'a small feeble looking young man, *ultra* Evangelical, and very low church [whose] only gift seems to be that of preaching Evangelical sermons', and attributed the difficulties which the patrons had of filling the vacant living in 1873 to 'the character St. George's had acquired of *ultra* low churchism'.²⁸ Although Blomefield's successor, Samuel Adams, was also an Evangelical who 'preaches always *extempore* ... and is apt to become noisy and ranting ... his pleasant sociable manner with his people is a great contrast to the coldness and reserve of his predecessor'.²⁹ As a result the leadership of the more aggressive Evangelicals passed to St. Clement's, where the first vicar, T. S. Fleming (1868-1902), was a prominent member of the Church Association, and a local campaigner for temperance and the rescue of fallen women.³⁰

Protestant demonstrations against Tractarian and ritualist innovations were relatively mild in Leeds. We have already noted the more celebrated cases, especially the troubles at St. Saviour's in the 1840s and 1850s, and at Manston and Shadwell in the 1920s, as also the minor protestations at Headingley in 1881 and Christ

²⁷ *Notes on the Lord's Supper* (Leeds), [1857-73].

²⁸ See 'Extracts from the Journals of John Deakin Heaton, M.D.', ed. B. and D. Payne, *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, LIII (1972), 104-8. Blomefield accused Heaton and others of ritualism for wanting to introduce a surpliced choir at St. George's [1866], and asked Heaton's daughter, Marian, to remove some painted crosses from the Christmas decorations [1865] 'as one of the ladies of the Congregation had declared that she could not go to the church so long as they were there'. According to Heaton there was a marked decline in the congregation at St. George's during Blomefield's incumbency.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 109.

³⁰ See E. Butler, 'Notes on Leeds Church Affairs'. (Leeds Central Reference Library.)

Church in 1899. In 1852 the vicar of Bardsey issued a pamphlet denouncing a sermon by the bishop of Ripon's chaplain, Charles Dodgson, preached at the consecration of St. Thomas's, Leeds, in which he defended the doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice.³¹

There were a number of skirmishes in the parish of Armley. In 1868 a dispute developed between the Tractarian incumbent, F. G. Hume Smith, and a prominent Evangelical parishioner, William Ewart Gott, who had agreed to put up most of the money for a new church at Upper Armley. Gott objected to a number of features in the proposed design which he denounced as 'ritualist': a break between the nave and chancel, the latter being slightly raised; the position of the reading desk, placed within the choir and sideways to the nave; and the steps around the Holy Table being so close that they prevented access to the sides [i.e. north end celebration]. When the building committee voted by 5 to 3 to accept the designs, Gott resigned from the committee.³² Some backroom discussions must have followed as a result of which the committee, at its next meeting, decided unanimously to reverse its previous decision and to invite Gott to rejoin.³³ Hume Smith, and the clergyman appointed by him to care for the district, thereupon resigned from the committee and ceased to take any further interest in the new church.³⁴ Gott became chairman of the committee and appointed a new minister for the district.³⁵ Christ Church, Upper Armley, consecrated in 1872, was always Evangelical, though not enough for Gott, who erected a screen around his own pew to enable him to take part in the service without having to view the surpliced choir introduced by the first vicar.³⁶ At the consecration of the new Armley parish church in 1877, Hume Smith was attacked by a correspondent to the *Leeds Mercury* for having invited four clerical members of the English Church Union to preach at the special services, as was his successor J. B. Seaton, by a correspondent to the *Armley and Wortley News*, for having arranged a series of Advent addresses in 1907 by a monk from the Community of the Resurrection.³⁷

In May 1904 the vicar of Wortley helped to organise a mission

³¹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 March 1852; *Popery's Progress and Prospects in Leeds* (London, 1852), 12-13, 15.

³² Christ Church, Upper Armley: Minute Book of the committee concerned with building the new church, 21 January 1868.

³³ *Ibid.*, 24 January 1868.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 January and 1 February 1868.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 7 November 1868.

³⁶ St. Bartholomew, Armley: newscuttings in parish scrapbooks.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

in Leeds for the Protestant Truth Society.³⁸ A further mission was held in 1912 with meetings at Headingley, Harehills, Woodhouse Moor and Victoria Square, at which the 'case for the adequate Government inspection of all conventual and monastic institutions was laid before the people' and 'a debate on the "Confessional in St. Saviour's" [was held] with one of the members of that church, but his arguments appeared to have little weight with those who still remembered the case of "Father" Beckett', 62 years previously! J. A. Kensit, the second secretary of the society, delivered a public lecture on 'Rome's Work in our Churches'.³⁹ In 1904, another aggrieved Protestant acted even more dramatically, by producing as evidence before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline a consecrated wafer which he had deliberately declined to consume during a communion service at Whitkirk.⁴⁰

Two events which produced rival Catholic and Protestant demonstrations in Leeds were the local Anglo-Catholic Congresses of 1922 and 1928. The first congress, held in June 1922, included a procession of witness through the streets of Leeds with four bishops⁴¹ in copes and mitres and a liberal use of incense, during which a Protestant demonstrator stepped in front of the bishops to 'protest as a member of the Church of England at this humbug and mummery [which] is nothing but a conversion to Rome'.⁴² Most of the 'high church' clergy in Leeds were involved to some extent in the congress: the vicar of Leeds, B. O. F. Heywood, and Canon Wylde of St. Saviour's were vice-presidents, and the members of the executive committee included H. S. Branscombe of Rothwell (Chairman), P. T. Browning of All Souls (Secretary), D. M. M. Bartlett of Woodhouse, H. O. Parnell of St. Aidan's, W. Warburton of Whitkirk and J. S. Willimott of St. Hilda's. J. K. Mozley, principal of the Leeds Clergy School, was one of the congress speakers; the laity were represented by Viscount Halifax and Henry Slessor, later a member of parliament for Leeds.⁴³ Arthur Lee, churchwarden at Manston, organised a rival

³⁸ *Beacon Fire* (1904), 104-6, [Published by the Protestant Truth Society].

³⁹ *Churchman's Magazine*, 1912, 224-5.

⁴⁰ Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Minutes of Evidence. Vol. ii. Cd. 3070, p. 531 (Minutes 15494-9). The Protestant involved was Mr. W. Brown of Harehills. His actions were condemned by the members of the Royal Commission who refused to receive his evidence and asked him to withdraw. Several similar incidents took place at other ritualist churches.

⁴¹ Two of the bishops were former Leeds vicars: Cecil Hook of All Souls and S. M. Taylor of St. Aidan's.

⁴² *Churchman's Magazine*, 1922, 172-3.

⁴³ *Congress Handbook* (Leeds, 1922).

series of public meetings on behalf of the Church Association, but the Evangelical clergy in Leeds appear to have taken no public part in them. There were countless letters to the press both attacking and defending the Congress; one from H. F. Runacres, curate of Holbeck, condemned moderate Anglicanism which 'vainly tries to move a mass of apathy with a Processional Cross [and] clings to an emasculated ceremonial which allows you, for example, to burn incense outside a service when there is no point in it, in accordance with some legal compromise'.⁴⁴ The press itself was generally hostile. It considered the holding of a secret clerical session on Confession to be 'a huge tactical blunder', regretted the prayers and hymns to Our Lady printed in the Congress handbook, and thought 'it was rather pitiful and childish to note how the large audience had ... almost hysterical enthusiasm when the words "Catholic", "Mass", and especially "High Mass" were mentioned by a speaker'.⁴⁵ The 1928 Congress was a rather smaller affair, again organised by Branscombe and Browning, and actively supported by twelve Leeds parishes.⁴⁶ This time the rival meetings were organised by Kensit's Wickliffe Preachers, the missionary wing of the Protestant Truth Society, and J. A. Kensit himself came to lecture on 'Anglo-Catholicism at the Bar of History and Scripture'.⁴⁷ But by the 1920s the Anglo-Catholics were more aggressive in their own defence than they had been a generation earlier; H. O. Parnell, in his farewell message to a moderate Anglo-Catholic parish, recorded a typical allegation and his own reply:⁴⁸

'I recently received the following anonymous message on a postcard: "Sir, why on earth don't you be honest and say *I am an RC?* Be a man, and do that before you leave a parish worse than you found it simply owing to your practices ... Yours, Pro Bono Publico." I hope my anonymous friend will read this so that I may tell him ... that I cannot say I am a Roman Catholic without being dishonest. I am not a Roman Catholic because I am an English Catholic. That's the whole

⁴⁴ 'Anglo-Catholicism and the Leeds Congress, 1922' (bound volume of newscuttings in Leeds Central Reference Library), 14.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 59, 70.

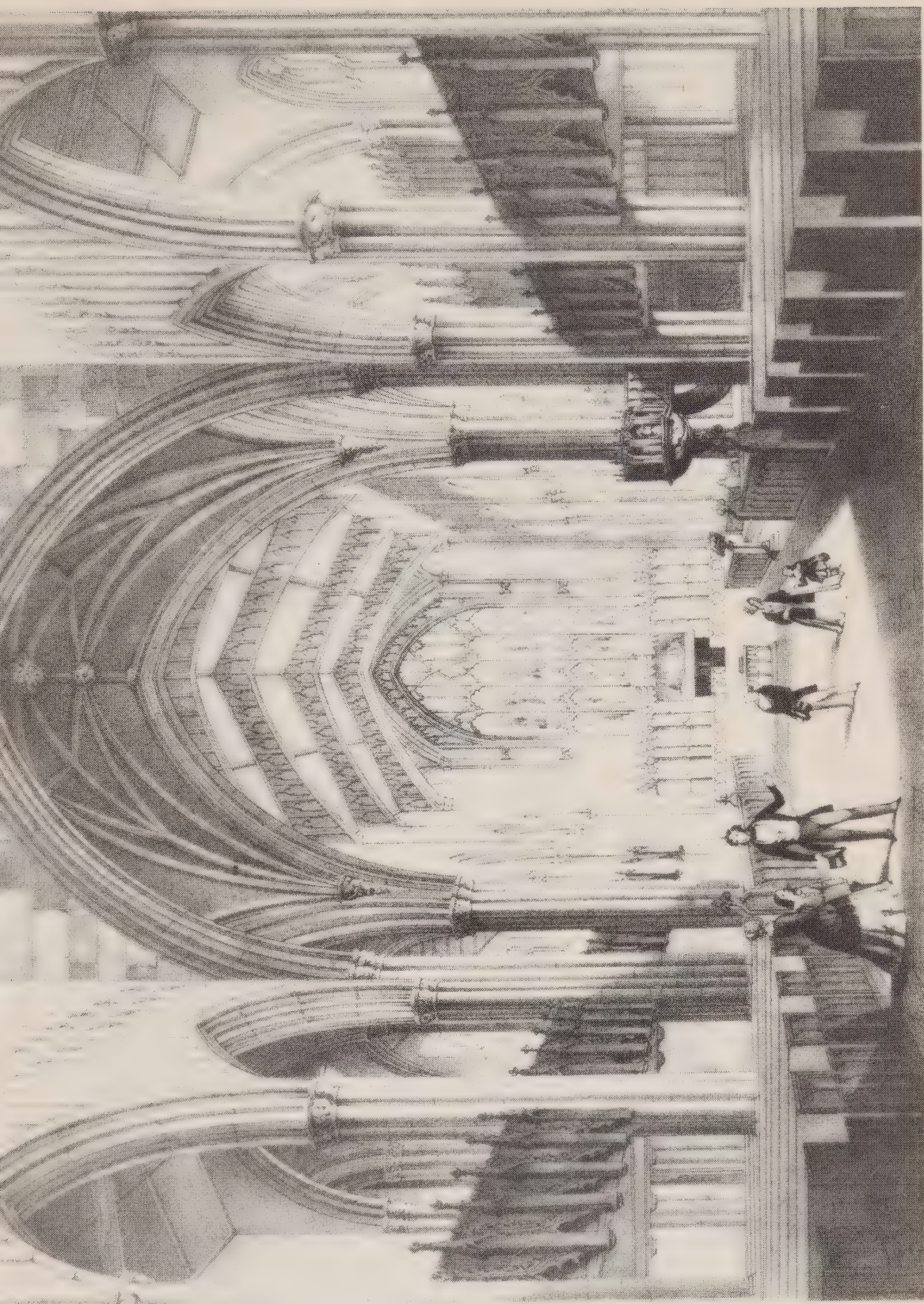
⁴⁶ *Congress Handbook* (Leeds, 1928). The supporting parishes were St. Peter's, All Souls, Christ Church, St. Aidan's, St. Hilda's, St. Saviour's, St. Edward's Holbeck, Holy Spirit Beeston Hill, Manston, Middleton, Rothwell and Shadwell.

⁴⁷ *Churchman's Magazine*, 1928, 237-8. There was much criticism of Browning's statement that 'Anglo-Catholics were out to make England Catholic and to teach the English people the only religion which was going to help them'.

⁴⁸ St. Aidan, Leeds: *Parish Magazine*, June 1929.

truth. I was baptised into the English branch of the Holy Catholic Church. There I have been taught and helped, confirmed and ordained. There I am content to stay and there I hope to die.'

It was this type of, very typical, reaction on the part of Anglo-Catholic clergy which effectively dispelled much Protestant criticism based on allegations of disloyalty.



1. The interior of Leeds Parish Church, 1841.



2. The Revd. Nicholas Greenwell and servers, 1865.



3. The interior of St. Michael's, Headingley, 1886.



4. The high altar of St. Paul's, Shadwell, 1928.

CONCLUSION

THROUGHOUT THE PRECEDING PAGES the influence of the Oxford Movement in Leeds, both positive and negative, has been traced in those parishes for which information is reasonably available; additional information of a specialised or statistical nature, for these and other parishes, is provided in the Appendices. On the basis of the known facts, and bearing in mind the lack of detailed research on most other communities, where does Leeds figure in the national picture of Oxford Movement influence in Britain as a whole?

Generally speaking, Leeds was probably more influenced by the Oxford Movement than any other part of the country outside London, with the possible exception of a small number of seaside towns, such as Bournemouth and Brighton. Yet this influence was restricted. Although St. Saviour's was one of the earliest centres of advanced Tractarianism outside London or Oxford, this did not lead to an enormous flowering of Tractarian, or later on, ritualist parishes in Leeds. Before 1900 there were never more than three advanced churches in the city at one time, and even in the 1920s Leeds had no more Anglo-Catholic churches than Cardiff, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham or Portsmouth, and rather fewer than Birmingham, Bristol, Leicester or Liverpool.¹ The real difference between Leeds and other cities of comparable size and class structure was in its large number of 'high' churches that fell short of being advanced; the obvious example was Leeds parish church, and it was Leeds parish church on which most of those other moderate 'high' churches in and around the city modelled themselves. Another difference between Leeds and other large urban and industrial communities was its lack of Evangelical churches, even towards the end of the nineteenth century. In the first quarter of the present century those that remained were gradually reduced to a rump, eventually representing less than 10% of the Anglican churches in the city and its immediate environs. In other Yorkshire cities — Bradford, Hull and Sheffield — the Evangelicals were strong, and even in towns with several 'high' churches, such as Portsmouth after 1900, the Evangelicals were usually represented in similar strength. But not in Leeds; the influence of the parish church permeated most parishes eventually.

¹ Comparative statistics from *ECU Church Guide* (London, 1927).

Some aspects of the Oxford Movement, however, were barely felt in Leeds. This was particularly so in the case of ritualist missions to the working classes. St. Saviour's and St. Barnabas's, Holbeck, were both early attempts but neither was particularly successful; both churches appear to have relied heavily on middle-class worshippers from outside the parish to swell the small congregations of resident worshippers. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the majority of 'high' churches were in middle-class parishes, and even those in the inner city tended to be fashionable or to have largely eclectic congregations: in the parish of All Souls a mission had to be built for the working-class parishioners who felt unable to enter the parish church to worship, but it had closed within fifty years.² Leeds had no successful working-class ritualist church to compare with, for instance, St. Agatha, Portsmouth, under Robert Dolling.³ One suspects that this was true in other cities as well, and that the popularity of ritualism in working-class parishes may have been largely misunderstood: the personality of parish priests was probably more important than their theological beliefs or liturgical practices.

One feature of the Oxford Movement that has always been noticeable is the way in which one parish has influenced another. This certainly happened in Leeds, and the role of Leeds parish church as a school for curates has already been noted. There were also connections between parishes where the churchmanship was even more advanced. St. Saviour's was responsible for the short-lived ritualist experiment at St. Philip's, with the move of a curate at the former to the vicarage of the latter in 1864, and St. Hilda's began as a mission to St. Saviour's. The rapid spread of Anglo-Catholicism in the Whitkirk deanery in the first quarter of the present century was largely the result of a complicated network of patronage, with the incumbents of mother parishes being responsible for similar developments taking place at their former daughter churches.

The role of the laity in church life has always been difficult to document, and most of this study has been largely concerned with the clergy. Two Anglo-Catholic churches in Leeds owed their churchmanship (in one case the actual foundation) to lay initiative — that of Mrs. Meynell-Ingram of Temple Newsam, her

² Holy Name Mission (1886-1936).

³ R. R. Dolling, *Ten Years in a Portsmouth Slum* (London, 1896); C. E. Osborne, *Life of Father Dolling* (London, 1903).

brother Lord Halifax being President of the English Church Union and the leading 'high church' layman in the country. Support from the same quarter, both financial and moral, was given to other 'high church' parishes in Leeds. Not all opposition to 'high church' practices was co-ordinated by the laity, though it was in the case of Manston and Shadwell in the 1920s; the opposition to St. Saviour's in the 1840s and 1850s seems to have been spearheaded by other Anglican clergy. Anglo-Catholic laity were often more advanced than their clergy, who frequently had to resist pressure for even more ritual that would have provoked difficulties with the bishop.

The study of the role of the bishop in the Ripon diocese is not helped by the almost complete lack of episcopal archives, particularly the correspondence between bishops and incumbents in which these matters were usually dealt with. When one considers the prevailing Evangelicalism of most of the bishops of Ripon between 1836 and 1934, they appear to have been remarkably tolerant of practices of which they certainly did not approve. In the cases of St. Saviour's, St. Barnabas's, Holbeck and Manston, the bishop could hardly have taken any other action than that which he took, in the circumstances, however much some contemporaries may have complained about it; in only one case, that of Shadwell, does an Evangelical bishop seem to have allowed his personal views to influence his judgement, with unfortunate consequences. There is no record of any prosecution being attempted in Leeds under the provisions of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874.

How typical were the events described in the foregoing pages in national terms? It is of course difficult to say without comparative studies for other communities, but in the opinion of the present writer, who has worked on similar material in other areas,⁴ they were fairly typical with one reservation: Leeds was a generation ahead of many places in some of the Oxford Movement's parochial manifestations in the city, particularly those connected with the parish church, St. James's and St. Saviour's. St. Barnabas's, Holbeck, was a fairly typical ritualist parish of the late nineteenth century, and developments there are paralleled in one London parish at the same period, for which a

⁴ See 'The Parochial Impact of the Oxford Movement in South-West Wales', *Carmarthenshire Studies*, ed. W. T. Barnes and W. N. Yates (Carmarthen, 1974), 221-47.

detailed study is now available.⁵ The troubles of Manston and Shadwell in the 1920s were not unique; similar conflicts must have taken place in at least a hundred parishes throughout England in the inter-war period, when Protestant critics were attempting to use the conflict over Prayer Book revision to take control over ritual developments in the Church of England, and were failing.

The study of the parochial impact of the Oxford Movement is a useful contribution to the study of local history. It is also a contribution to the study of a movement that transformed the devotional, liturgical, theological and, to some extent also, social outlook of the established church and, through it, the lives of many British citizens. We need more such studies for the national picture to be fully revealed, and for an important but much undervalued aspect of religious life in Britain to be fully understood.

⁵ G. Huelin, 'St. Margaret Pattens: A City Parish in the Nineteenth Century', *Guildhall Miscellany*, iii (1971), 277-86.

Appendix A

HIGH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

The relationship between the teachings of the Oxford Movement and the Gothic Revival in church architecture and furnishing is well established;¹ in the words of Dean Close, 'Romanism is taught *Analytically* at Oxford, it is taught *Artistically* at Cambridge ... it is inculcated theoretically, in tracts, at one University, and is *sculptured, painted, and graven* at the other'.² The Cambridge Camden Society, founded by J. M. Neale and Benjamin Webb in 1839, was effectively controlled by Tractarians, and eventually many of its more conservative supporters resigned. Many of the leading Victorian church architects — Butterfield, Street, Pearson, Bodley — were 'high churchmen' who preferred to design for incumbents with similar theological opinions; and Tractarian incumbents themselves were generally more interested in church architecture and furnishings than their Evangelical counterparts. The prevailing 'high churchism' of Leeds in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted in a remarkable group of excellent church buildings and restorations, all but one of which can be still be seen.³ Since the recent liturgical developments in the Church of England have effectively done away with Tractarian church services, the architecture of these churches is now the last remaining survival in a pure form of the Oxford Movement in the city; the best examples are listed here in chronological order of design and completion.

(1) *Leeds Parish Church*⁴

Rebuilt to the designs of R. D. Chantrell in 1839-41. It was described by the *Ecclesiologist* (vols. vii p. 46 and viii p. 132) as 'perhaps the first really great undertaking of the present age, which, though not in the

¹ See especially B. F. L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1938); G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London, 1948); J. F. White, *The Cambridge Movement* (Cambridge, 1962); P. F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings* (London, 1965).

² Quoted in Clarke, *op. cit.*, 99.

³ Leeds churches are described, some more fully than others, in N. Pevsner, *Penguin Buildings of England : Yorkshire, The West Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1959).

⁴ Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 310-12; Clarke, *op. cit.*, 40; Addleshaw and Etchells, *op. cit.*, 209-19 (with plan of church in 1877); White, *op. cit.*, 16; Anson, *op. cit.*, 73-4.

highest architectural style, was arranged with a regard to ecclesiastical propriety previously unknown ... The first great instance ... of the Catholic feeling of a church ... grasping at the altar as being rather than the pulpit the central point of worship, and yet of course not being able to compass those points of church arrangement which are the result of study and of patient research'. Despite the retention of galleries, Leeds parish church was very much the prototype of the typical Anglican church plan of the nineteenth century as popularised by the Camden Society and the ecclesiologists. The church was, and is, arranged in three parts: nave for the congregation, with galleries; chancel for the choir offices; and sanctuary for the celebration of Holy Communion, with an open space and flight of steps separating it from the chancel. This separation of sanctuary and chancel is not usually so pronounced in later Victorian churches; it was designed to allow for the practice of the communicants 'drawing near' at the Invitation, a practice abandoned by most Tractarians. Although Leeds parish church was designed to meet Dean Hook's peculiar liturgical requirements (see Chapter 1 above), it has been little altered since. Later, more Tractarian, additions are the reredos designed by G. E. Street in 1872 and the sanctuary mosaics made by Salviati of Venice in 1876. Sir G. G. Scott's monument to Dean Hook appears to be derived from the pre-Reformation shrines of St. Frideswide at Christ Church, Oxford, and St. Thomas Cantilupe in Hereford Cathedral.

(2) *St. Saviour, Ellerby Road*⁵

Built to the designs of J. M. Derick in 1842-5, with stained glass by O'Connor from designs by Pugin. This church was much more in tune with Camdenian principles than Leeds parish church, despite the Society's objections to the Decalogue over the altar. The disputes over the original designs for St. Saviour's and other matters are discussed in Chapter 2 above, and much surviving correspondence between E. B. Pusey, the founder, and Benjamin Webb, about the furnishings and decoration of the church is preserved at Pusey House, Oxford. St. Saviour's is an exceptionally tall and narrow cruciform building with 'something of the proportions of a foreign cathedral'. The original design envisaged a spire based on St. Mary's, Oxford, but there was only a squat central tower until this was heightened in 1937 and the projected spire abandoned. A Pusey memorial chapel was added to the south of the chancel in 1890 to designs by G. F. Bodley. The original reredos was replaced by a much more sumptuous one, designed by Temple Moore, in 1921.

(3) *St. Thomas, Melbourne Street*⁶

Designed by William Butterfield and consecrated in 1851; closed in 1920 and later demolished. The *Ecclesiologist* thought it was 'quite

⁵ Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 326-7; Clarke, *op. cit.*, 117-18; White, *op. cit.*, 22 (with references to G. G. Pace, 'Pusey and Leeds', *Architectural Review*, XCVIII 1945)); Anson, *op. cit.*, 65.

⁶ Anson, *op. cit.*, 136.

worthy of All Saints, Margaret Street'. In 1899 St. Thomas's was one of only three Leeds churches to have a weekly Sung Eucharist.

(4) *St. John Evangelist, New Briggate*⁷

An early seventeenth-century 'Gothic survival' church, restored by Norman Shaw in 1868. Shaw's restoration was very sympathetic and basically consisted of some rearrangement of the (contemporary) furnishings for more Catholic worship. The chancel was given new 'Jacobean' choir stalls to accommodate a surpliced choir.

(5) *St. Chad, Far Headingley*⁸

Designed by Lord Grimthorpe, who employed W. H. Crosland as sub-architect, and consecrated in 1868. New chancel added by W. H. Gibbons in 1910. This church was more Tractarian architecturally than it was liturgically, despite the handsome reredos.

(6) *St. Bartholomew, Armley*⁹

Rebuilt to the designs of Walker and Athron in 1872-7. The positioning of the tall crossing tower and spire and shallow transepts so close to an apsidal sanctuary make this church very Germanic in external appearance. Internally it is a grand Tractarian church with all the emphasis placed on the east end; the organ case, supported on a stone gallery, is the *pièce de résistance*.

(7) *All Souls, Blackman Lane*¹⁰

Built as a memorial to Dean Hook and to the designs of Sir G. G. Scott in 1876-80. The design is pure 'Early English' and of great beauty; the chancel is vaulted and the floors are mosaic. The cupboard-like font-cover opens to reveal New Testament figures painted with the faces of the church's first clergy and lay members; the first vicar, Cecil Hook, the late dean's son, is John Baptist and his wife is Our Lady!

(8) *St. Hilda, Cross Green Lane*¹¹

Built to the designs of J. T. Micklethwaite in 1876-82. Micklethwaite was a founder member of the Society of St. Osmund and the Alcuin Club, and an expert on ecclesiastical ceremonial. St. Hilda's, as a daughter church of St. Saviour's, was designed for elaborate ritual. The excellent woodwork by W. H. Wood was installed later: rood screen in 1921, reredos in 1927 and font-cover in 1936.

(9) *St. John Baptist, Adel*¹²

Sympathetically restored by G. E. Street in 1879 on sound Tractarian

⁷ Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 312-13. Plan of church before 1868 in Addleshaw and Etchells, *op. cit.*, 114.

⁸ Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 323.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹ Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 324.

¹² *Ibid.*, 338-9.

lines. Street did surprisingly little work in Leeds, and no major design, despite much work in other parts of Yorkshire.

(10) *St. Michael, Headingley*¹³

Rebuilt to the designs of J. L. Pearson in 1884-6. This is another church of great beauty in Pearson's familiar style, an original blending of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of English and French Gothic. The sumptuous reredos, designed by Temple Moore, was added in 1905.

(11) *St. Aidan, Roundhay Road*¹⁴

Built as a memorial to Bishop Woodford and to the designs of R. J. Johnson and A. C. Hick in 1891-4. St. Aidan's is a remarkable building. The fabric is Italian Romanesque with the high altar in an apse at the east end, and the massive font in a semi-gallery in another apse at the west end; the capital of each pier in the nave arcades is individually and differently carved. The furnishings — marble pulpit and tester, organ and organ gallery — are equally successful Italian Baroque. The mosaics by Sir Frank Brangwyn — scenes from the life of the patron in the eastern apse, white-robed candidates for baptism on the *cancelli* — were unveiled in 1916.

(12) *St. Matthew, Chapel Allerton*¹⁵

Rebuilt to the designs of G. F. Bodley in 1897-1900. The design is simple but effective, the furnishings expensive but in good taste: customary Bodley reredoses in sanctuary and chapel, and plenty of screens.

(13) *St. Mary, Whitkirk*¹⁶

A fifteenth-century church with a complicated history of restoration. The first, liturgically conservative and aesthetically disastrous, restoration took place in 1855-6 under the direction of a local architect, J. Dobson; his pews remain. After the patronage of the living had been bought from Trinity College, Cambridge, by the Hon. Mrs Meynell-Ingram of Temple Newsam, sister of Lord Halifax, and a Tractarian incumbent presented, a thorough and more sympathetic restoration was undertaken by G. F. Bodley in 1900-1. During this restoration the chancel was extended and 'correctly' furnished. A further restoration was carried out by Sir Walter Tapper in 1930; this included the provision of an excellent 'classical' organ case in a new gallery at the west end, and a 'classical' pulpit and tester. The rood beam was added in 1935.

(14) *St. Edward, Holbeck*¹⁷

Built to the designs of G. F. Bodley in 1903-21. The church was paid for by the Hon. Mrs Meynell-Ingram and was intended to be an Anglo-Catholic mission to a new housing development which never fully materialised. The dingy red-brick exterior gives little indication of the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 326.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 322-3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 325-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 350-1.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 324.

glories inside: rood screen, sumptuous altars, marble floors, a complete Catholic interior.

(15) *St. Margaret, Cardigan Road*¹⁸

Built to the designs of Temple Moore in 1908-10. The church was left unfinished for over fifty years until the new west end was added by G. G. Pace. The design is open and spacious with the emphasis on the east end, and the furnishings are of good quality.

(16) *St. Paul, Shadwell*

The small neo-Norman church (1842 by R. D. Chantrell) was internally transformed by Martin Travers in 1924-7 with a superb Baroque reredos built around the windows of the apsidal sanctuary. The reredos has, however, been considerably altered, and parts removed, since 1940.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 325.

Appendix B

SOME RITUAL STATISTICS

One of the easiest ways to chart developments in ritual and 'high church' practices is through the study of the various lists or series of statistics, published from time to time, or surviving in manuscript in private notes, designed to indicate contemporary practices or theological viewpoints. Although reference to such statistical information has been made at various points in this study, it is convenient that all the information thus available should be gathered together and some remarks made about its sources and reliability. This appendix, therefore, contains the results of eight such sets of statistics, in chronological order, with appropriate commentaries.

(i) *Frequency of Communion Services, 1837-56*

This information is compiled from the Ms notebooks of Bishop Longley of Ripon in the Brotherton Library at Leeds University. The lists were compiled from the parochial returns at the bishop's triennial visitations. There are three notebooks altogether; only the first two contain entries for parishes in the Leeds area. There is some doubt as to the strict accuracy of the returns; St. Saviour's is recorded as having only a monthly communion service in both 1850 and 1853, whereas other sources indicate more frequent celebrations, certainly in the former year. The general trend of the returns is, however, clear; Communion services became infinitely more frequent during Longley's episcopate. Of the 28 churches listed in all the visitation returns only eight had monthly celebrations in 1837: the city parishes of St. Peter, St. John the Evangelist and St. Paul, and Kirkstall, Rothwell, Whitkirk, Woodhouse and Wortley; St. Peter's had established a weekly celebration by 1841 and St. Paul's by 1856. By 1856 only three of the 28 had failed to establish a monthly Communion service: Bramhope, Farnley and Kippax; and Farnley had experimented briefly with one in 1847. 17 churches introduced monthly communion services, after 1837 but by 1856, as follows:

By 1844: Headingley, Holbeck, Hunslet, Christ Church (weekly in 1853, fortnightly in 1856), Methley, Roundhay and Thorner.

By 1847: Adel, Beeston, Chapel Allerton and St. Mary (fortnightly in 1856).

By 1850: Armley, Bramley, Garforth, Horsforth and Oulton.

By 1856: Barwick-in-Elmet.

An additional 26 churches made their first appearances in Bishop Longley's notebooks after 1837, mostly because they were new foundations, and only Manston and Stanningley had failed to establish a monthly celebration by 1856. Lofthouse and Swillington, first listed in 1844, did not establish monthly celebrations until 1847 and 1853 respectively; Seacroft, first listed in 1847, did not establish one until 1856. All Saints was first listed, with a fortnightly celebration, in 1853, but only had a monthly celebration in 1856. St. James's had established a weekly celebration, early at 8 a.m., by 1839, the first Leeds church to do so. 19 churches were first listed, with monthly communion services, as follows:

- In 1844: St. George, Holy Trinity and St. Luke (weekly by 1853).
- In 1847: Middleton (fortnightly by 1856), St. Andrew, St. Matthew and Shadwell.
- In 1850: St. Saviour and St. Philip.
- In 1853: Buslingthorpe, St. Jude Hunslet, St. John Holbeck, Meanwood, New Wortley (fortnightly by 1856) and Woodside.
- In 1856: Burley, St. Barnabas Holbeck, Burmantofts and Moor Allerton.

By 1856 the frequency of communion services in all 54 listed churches was as follows, the figures in brackets representing the comparative statistics for 28 churches in 1837:

Weekly celebration	4	(—)
Fortnightly celebration	4	(—)
Monthly celebration	41	(8)
Less frequent celebration	5	(20)
	—	—
TOTAL	54	(28)
	—	—

(ii) *Petition for licensed confessors, 1873*

On 6 June 1873 *The Rock* published a list of Anglican clergy, all of whom were members of the English Church Union, who had signed a petition requesting the appointment of licensed confessors in the Church of England. The list was headlined 'The Ritualistic Conspiracy' and a revised edition was published in 1877. Ten Leeds clergy, including five incumbents, were recorded as signing the petition:

- A. J. Abbey, curate of Leeds Parish Church.
- J. Bickedike, vicar of St. Mary, Quarry Hill.
- R. Blakelock, chaplain at Temple Newsam.
- J. M. Fawcett, vicar of St. Philip, Wellington Street.
- G. P. Grantham, curate of St. Saviour, Ellerby Road.
- N. V. Greenwell, vicar of St. Barnabas, Holbeck.
- J. B. Johnson, Hunslet.
- F. G. H. Smith, perpetual curate of Armley.
- A. Standidge, rector of Adel.
- F. J. Wood, curate of Leeds Parish Church.

Greenwell and Johnson were also noted as being members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.

(iii) *Tractarian and Ritualist churches, 1874-7*

The first national guide to churches providing a weekly celebration of Holy Communion and observing certain specified points of ritual, was published in 1874: *The Tourists' Church Guide*, edited by J. C. Waram. There are copies of this now rare publication for 1874-7, bound together, in the British Museum Library. Thirteen churches in the Leeds area were listed in these guides:

Leeds Parish Church: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 and 11.30, on Holy Days at 7 and 11, Thursdays at 7; use of eastward position and lighted candles.

St. Philip: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7 and 10.30; daily Communion; use of eastward position, lighted candles and coloured vestments.

St. Saviour: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7 and 11.30; daily Communion; use of eastward position, lighted candles, coloured vestments and plainsong.

St. John (Newtown): Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 10.30; use of plainsong.

St. John (Briggate): Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.30 and 11.30, Holy Days after Morning Prayer; use of eastward position, lighted candles and plainsong.

St. Mary (Quarry Hill): Holy Communion on Sundays at 8.30 or 12, Holy Days at 7 or 9.15; use of unlighted candles.

All Souls [temporary church]: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 10.30, Holy Days at 8; use of eastward position and unlighted candles.

Grammar School Chapel: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 and 11.30; use of eastward position.

St. Barnabas (Holbeck): Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.30, 9 and 10.30; daily communion; use of eastward position, lighted candles, coloured vestments and plainsong.

Armley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 11.30.

Chapel Allerton: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.45 or 10.30; use of eastward position.

Far Headingley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.45 or 10.30, Holy Days at 7.30; use of eastward position.

Allerton Bywater: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 10.30; use of unlighted candles and plainsong.

All churches had a weekly Sunday celebration; eight churches also had celebrations on Holy Days and three had a daily celebration; the eastward position was taken in nine churches, plainsong used in five churches and coloured vestments in three; in five churches there were lighted candles on the altar, and at another three, candles were placed on the altar but not lighted.

(iv) *Frequency of Communion Services, 1895*

The first directory of Anglican churches and services in Leeds was published in 1895: a *Guide to the Churches of Leeds*, edited by Canon

Richard Bullock, vicar of Holy Trinity, Boar Lane. At that time there were 60 parishes within the old rural deanery of Leeds—Bramhope and the parishes of the old Whitkirk deanery were excluded—of which 30 were 'high' and 19 'low'; 11 parishes defied strict categorisation. In the following list the three groups have been treated separately. Except where stated, all 'high' churches used *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and had the daily offices publicly recited in church. The daily offices were not normally recited publicly in the 'low' churches, and the hymnal usage varied, though the majority favoured one of the standard Evangelical hymnals, *Church Hymns* or the *Hymnal Companion*. The frequency and (where known) the times of communion services have been noted in all churches. The 30 'high' churches were:

Leeds Parish Church: Daily Communion; Sundays at 7, 8 and 12.

All Saints: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.45 and 8.30 or 11.45; Holy Days, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays at 7.30. Sung Eucharist on Holy Days at 9 and festival Sundays at 10.30.

All Souls: Daily communion; Sundays at 7 and 8. Sung Eucharist at 11.45 monthly at parish church, and at 10.30 fortnightly at mission church.

Christ Church: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 10.

Holy Trinity: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.30 and 8 or 11.45; Holy Days at 8 and 11.

St. Aidan: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 7.30; Sung Eucharist at 11 monthly.

St. Hilda: Daily communion; Sundays at 7.30 and 10.30 (sung).

St. John (Briggate): Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.30 and 8.15 or 11.45; Holy Days and Thursdays at 7.30.

St. Luke: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 7.45.

St. Mary: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 and 11.45; Holy Days at 8.

St. Matthew: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 10.

St. Saviour: Daily communion; Sundays at 7.15, 8 and 10.30 (sung).

St. Thomas: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 7.30.

Armley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 and 11.45; Holy Days at 7.30 or 10.

Beeston Hill: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.45; Holy Days at 7 or 10.

Burley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 10.30.

Burmantofts (St. Stephen): Holy Communion on Sundays and Holy Days at 7.30.

Chapel Allerton: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7 and 7.45; Holy Days at 7.

Headingley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 and 7.15 or 12; Holy Days, Tuesdays and Thursdays at 7.30.

Far Headingley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 7.30 or 10.

Holbeck (St. Matthew): Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days and Thursdays at 7.30. Sung Eucharist on festival Sundays at 10.30.

(St. John): Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 and 11 (sung); Holy Days at 8 and 10.30; but no daily offices.

(St. Barnabas): Holy Communion on Sundays at 11.45 and 7.30 or 8.40; Holy Days at 10.15.

Hunslet (St. Cuthbert): Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 8.30.

(St. Peter): Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 7.30.

(St. Silas): Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 10.
Kirkstall: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.45; Holy Days at 8 or 10.

Potternewton: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 11.

Stanningley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 7.30; Holy Days at 5 or 7.

New Wortley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 9.30.

Summary of Statistics: All the above churches had a celebration of Holy Communion at least once on all Sundays (including an early celebration) and Holy Days. Four churches—Leeds Parish Church, All Souls, St. Hilda and St. Saviour—had a daily communion service. Three churches—St. Hilda, St. Saviour and St. John, Holbeck—had a weekly Sung Eucharist; two others—All Souls and St. Aidan—had a monthly Sung Eucharist, and two more—All Saints and St. Matthew, Holbeck—had an occasional Sung Eucharist on festivals.

The 19 'low' churches were:

St. Andrew: Holy Communion monthly. *Hymnal Companion*.

St. Clement: Holy Communion weekly, times varied. Evening communion monthly. *Hymnal Companion*.

St. George: Holy Communion weekly, times varied. Evening communion monthly. *Hymnal Companion*.

St. John (Newtown): Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 12. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

St. Michael: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 12. *Church Hymns*.

St. Paul: Holy Communion fortnightly, morning or evening. *Mercer's Hymn Book*.

St. Philip: Holy Communion fortnightly. *Hymnal Companion*.

St. Simon: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8, 12 and evening. *Hymnal Companion*.

Armley Hall: Holy Communion weekly, times varied. Evening communion monthly. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Upper Armley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 12. Evening communion monthly. *Hymnal Companion*.

Beeston: Holy Communion weekly, times varied. Evening communion monthly. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Buslingthorpe: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 and 12. Evening communion monthly. *Church Hymns*.

Farnley: Holy Communion irregular at parish church but weekly at mission church with an evening celebration fortnightly. *Church Hymns*.

Hunslet (St. Mary): Holy Communion weekly, times varied. Evening communion monthly. *Church Hymns*.

(*St. Jude*): Holy Communion weekly, times varied. Evening communion monthly. *Hymnal Companion*.

Meanwood: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 12. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Roundhay: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8.15 or 12. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Woodhouse: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 and 12. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Wrangthorn: Holy Communion monthly. *Hymnal Companion*.

Summary of statistics: 15 churches had a weekly communion service; two—St. Andrew and Wrangthorn—had only a monthly celebration, and another two—St. Paul and St. Philip—had only a fortnightly celebration. Only 3 churches—St. Simon, Buslingthorpe and Woodhouse—had an early celebration every Sunday. 11 churches had evening communion services, the controversial hallmark of Evangelicalism by this time. Eight churches used the *Hymnal Companion*, six *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and four *Church Hymns*.

The 11 churches defying strict categorisation were:

All Hallows: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 8 or 10.30. Evening communion monthly. Daily offices in church. *Hymnal Companion*.

Emmanuel: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 11; Evening communion monthly. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

St. Alban: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 12; Holy Days at 8 or 9. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

St. Edmund: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8; Holy Days at 10.30. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

St. James: Holy Communion on Sundays after either Morning or Evening Prayer; Holy Days after Evening Prayer. *Canon Jackson's Hymn Book*.

Adel: Holy Communion on Sundays at 8 or 12; Holy Days at 8 or 11. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Bramley: Holy Communion on Sundays at 9 or 12. Daily offices in church. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Burmantofts (St. Agnes): Holy Communion weekly, times varied. Evening communion monthly. Daily offices in church. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

Moor Allerton: Holy Communion on the first Sunday of the month at 12, and the third Sunday at 8; Holy Days at 8 and 12. *Church Hymns*.

Wortley: Holy Communion weekly, times varied. Holy Days at 7 or 10.30. Evening communion monthly. Daily offices in church. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.

St. Mary of Bethany: Holy Communion on Sundays and Holy Days at 8. Daily offices in church. *Hymnal Companion*.

Summary of statistics: All but one of the above churches had a weekly communion service, the exception being Moor Allerton where there was a twice monthly celebration; five churches had occasional evening celebrations, usually once a month, and four churches had an early celebration every Sunday. Nine churches had celebrations on Holy Days and at five churches the daily offices were publicly recited. Seven churches used *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, two the *Hymnal Companion* and one *Church Hymns*.

In evaluating the evidence from all these three categories of churches in Leeds the findings can be summarised as follows:

Churches having:	Daily celebration	4
	Weekly celebration	51
	Fortnightly celebration	3
	Monthly celebration	2
	Early celebration on Sundays	37
	Celebration on Holy Days	39
	Evening celebration	16
	Choral celebration	7
	Daily offices publicly recited	34
Churches using:	<i>Hymns Ancient and Modern</i>	43
	<i>Hymnal Companion</i>	10
	<i>Church Hymns</i>	5
	Other hymnals	2

By 1895, therefore, the liturgical influence of the Oxford Movement was being felt in most Leeds parishes, with a majority of churches having an early celebration of the Holy Communion every Sunday (60%), a celebration on Holy Days (65%) and the daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer said publicly in church (55%). The use of the Tractarian *Hymns Ancient and Modern* by 70% of Leeds churches reflected locally the national acceptance of this hymnal by many non-Tractarian congregations.

(v) *Growth of early celebrations, 1899-1934*

In 1895 only 37 out of 60 Leeds churches had a weekly early celebration of the Holy Communion. During the succeeding forty years most other Leeds churches introduced weekly early celebrations. The following details are compiled from the *Leeds Churchman's Handbook*, published annually from 1899; they list the churches at which such services were introduced together with the approximate year of introduction.

By 1899: St. George, St. Alban, Upper Armley, St. Agnes Burman-
tofts, Moor Allerton and Roundhay.
By 1901: St. John Newtown and Adel.
By 1903: St. Clement and St. Philip.
By 1906: St. Mary Hunslet.
By 1907: Wrangthorn.
By 1910: St. Andrew and Bramley.
By 1913: St. Jude Hunslet.
By 1918: Farnley.
By 1919: Meanwood.
By 1922: Beeston.
By 1923: Wortley.

St. Paul's never introduced a weekly early celebration before its closure in 1905, nor did St. James's before its closure in 1950.

(vi) *Growth of the Sung Eucharist, 1899-1934*

An equally important liturgical development during the early twentieth century was the growth in the number of churches where the communion service was fully choral. Throughout this period to have a weekly Sung Eucharist was still a sign of Catholic commitment, but many central parishes introduced a monthly or fortnightly choral celebration. In 1895 three Leeds churches had a weekly and two a monthly Sung Eucharist. In 1899 the totals were the same but the churches were different; St. Hilda and St. Saviour had a weekly Sung Eucharist in both years, but the weekly service at St. John Holbeck in 1895 had been replaced by one at St. Thomas in 1899, and the monthly services at All Souls and St. Aidan in 1895 had been replaced by ones at Leeds Parish Church and Holy Trinity in 1899. Between 1899 and 1934 no fewer than 44 Leeds churches introduced a choral celebration at least once a month, as follows, the details once again being compiled from the *Leeds Churchman's Handbook*.

Leeds Parish Church: Sung Eucharist weekly from 1925.

All Hallows: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1906.

All Saints: Sung Eucharist fortnightly from 1924.

All Souls: Sung Eucharist fortnightly from 1916, weekly from 1920.

Christ Church: Sung Eucharist monthly 1902-9, fortnightly from 1918, weekly from 1919.

Emmanuel: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1905.

St. Aidan: Sung Eucharist fortnightly from 1910, weekly from 1913.

St. Alban: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1923.

St. John (Briggate): Sung Eucharist fortnightly from 1901, monthly from 1923.

St. John (Newtown): Sung Eucharist monthly from 1929.

St. Luke: Sung Eucharist weekly from 1922.

St. Mary: Sung Eucharist weekly from 1915.

St. Margaret: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1902, fortnightly from 1910, weekly from 1921.

St. Matthew: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1923, weekly from 1929.

St. Simon: Sung Eucharist fortnightly from 1923.

St. Wilfrid: Sung Eucharist weekly from opening of church in 1928.

- Armley: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1922.
 Beeston Hill (St. Luke): Sung Eucharist monthly from 1919.
 (Holy Spirit): Sung Eucharist weekly from 1920.
 Bramley: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1932.
 Burmantofts (St. Agnes): Sung Eucharist fortnightly 1923-9.
 (St. Stephen): Sung Eucharist monthly from 1920.
 Chapel Allerton: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1920, fortnightly from 1929.
 Far Headingley: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1923.
 Headingley: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1905.
 Holbeck (St. Matthew): Sung Eucharist monthly from 1903, fortnightly from 1927.
 (St. John): Sung Eucharist fortnightly 1925-9.
 (St. Barnabas): Sung Eucharist weekly 1901-29.
 (St. Edward): Sung Eucharist weekly from opening of church in 1904.
 Hunslet (St. Mary): Sung Eucharist monthly from 1924, weekly from 1927.
 (St. Cuthbert): Sung Eucharist monthly from 1924.
 (St. Jude): Sung Eucharist fortnightly from 1918, weekly from 1923.
 (St. Peter): Sung Eucharist fortnightly from 1923.
 (St. Silas): Sung Eucharist fortnightly from 1923, weekly from 1927.
 Moor Allerton: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1923.
 Potternewton: Sung Eucharist fortnightly 1913-15 and from 1929, weekly 1915-18 and 1922-9.
 Roundhay (St. John): Sung Eucharist monthly from 1915.
 (St. Edmund): Sung Eucharist monthly from 1915.
 Stanningley: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1901.
 Stourton: Sung Eucharist monthly from opening of church in 1902.
 Woodhouse: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1914, weekly from 1917.
 Wortley: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1923.
 New Wortley: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1919.
 St. Mary of Bethany: Sung Eucharist monthly from 1923.

An easier way of demonstrating growth in popularity of the Sung Eucharist during the period under discussion is to compare the number of churches offering weekly, fortnightly or monthly Sung Eucharists in 1910, 1920 and 1930:

<i>Sung Eucharists in:</i>	1910	1920	1930
Monthly	8	14	20
Fortnightly	3	3	6
Weekly	5	11	17
	—	—	—
TOTAL	16	28	43

(vii) *Ritualism and Ritualists, 1903*

In 1903 the Protestant Church Association published *The Ritualistic Clergy List*, which included the names of more than nine thousand Anglican clergymen who either observed certain ritualistic ceremonies

in their services or who were known to be members of various ritualistic societies. Altogether 33 Leeds churches were listed, and 22 Leeds clergy were alleged to be members of either the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament or the English Church Union, as follows:

Leeds Parish Church: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

All Saints: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice, lighted candles and vestments; curate a member of the CBS and ECU.

All Souls: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice, lighted candles and vestments, curate a member of the ECU.

Christ Church: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice, lighted candles and vestments.

Holy Trinity: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

St. Aidan: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles; incumbent a member of the CBS and ECU.

St. Hilda: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice, lighted candles, vestments and incense; Guild of All Souls Mass monthly; incumbent and both curates members of the CBS and ECU.

St. John (Briggate): Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

St. Luke: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

St. Mary: Use of eastward position and lighted candles.

St. Matthew: Use of eastward position.

St. Saviour: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice, lighted candles, vestments and incense; Guild of All Souls Mass monthly; incumbent and one curate members of the ECU; two curates members of the CBS and ECU.

St. Thomas: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice, lighted candles and vestments.

Adel: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

Armley: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles; incumbent a member of the ECU.

Barwick-in-Elmet: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

Beeston: Curate a member of the CBS and ECU.

Burmantofts (St. Stephen): Curate a member of the ECU.

Chapel Allerton: Use of eastward position and mixed chalice.

Far Headingley: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

Headingley: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles; incumbent a member of the ECU.

Holbeck (St. Matthew): Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles; curate a member of the ECU.

(*St. Barnabas*): Use of eastward position and lighted candles.

Hunslet (St. Cuthbert): Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

Kippax: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles; incumbent a member of the ECU.

Kirkstall: Use of eastward position.

Middleton: Use of eastward position and lighted candles; former curate (A. G. Clarke) seceded to Rome in 1889.

Oulton: Use of eastward position and lighted candles.

Potternewton: Use of eastward position and mixed chalice; curate a former member of the ECU.

Rothwell: Curate a former member of the ECU.

Seacroft: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

Stanningley: Use of eastward position.

Stourton: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles.

Thorner: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice and lighted candles; incumbent a member of the ECU.

Whitkirk: Use of eastward position, mixed chalice, lighted candles and vestments; incumbent and one curate members of the CBS and ECU; one curate a member of the ECU.

Woodhouse: Use of eastward position.

33 churches observed the use of the eastward position in the communion services; at 27 churches candles were lighted and at 25 the chalice was mixed; but only 7 churches used vestments (all city parishes with the exception of Whitkirk) and 2 incense (St. Hilda and St. Saviour). 8 incumbents and 12 curates were members of the English Church Union; 3 incumbents and 7 curates were also members of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, including the curate of Beeston, at that time, and for long afterwards, an Evangelical parish.

Three former vicars of Leeds, then bishops — John Gott (1873-86), F. J. Jayne (1886-9) and E. S. Talbot (1889-95) — were also noted in the *Ritualistic Clergy List*: Gott for wearing vestments as Dean of Truro, where he also took the eastward position, mixed the chalice and had lighted candles on the altar; Jayne and Talbot for wearing mitres; Talbot also took the eastward position at altars with lighted candles on them, and was a member of the 'high church' Alcuin Club.

(viii) *Anglo-Catholic Churches, 1927*

The *ECU Church Guide* for 1927 was the first guide to 'high' churches to include reference to the growing practice of reserving the sacrament for the purpose of sick communions, and, occasionally, extra-liturgical devotions. Twenty Leeds churches were listed in this guide, in nine of which the sacrament was reserved and in sixteen of which the hearing of confessions was openly advertised.

At the following nine churches the sacrament was reserved, confessions heard, there was a daily Eucharist and a Sung Eucharist every Sunday: All Souls, St. Aidan, St. Hilda, St. Margaret, St. Saviour, St. Edward Holbeck, Rothwell, Shadwell and Whitkirk.

At the following five churches the sacrament was not reserved, but confessions were heard, there was a daily Eucharist and a Sung Eucharist every Sunday: Christ Church, Holy Spirit Beeston, Manston, Seacroft and Woodhouse.

Confessions were also heard at All Saints, where there was a daily Eucharist, and Woodlesford, which had a Sung Eucharist every Sunday. St. Matthew Holbeck and Potternewton had a daily Eucharist and a Sung Eucharist every Sunday; Leeds Parish Church had a daily Eucharist and St. Jude Hunslet a Sung Eucharist every Sunday.

There is some doubt about the reliability of these statistics; Middleton, which was a fully Catholic parish by this time, does not appear in the list, and St. Matthew Holbeck only had a fortnightly Sung Eucharist in 1927. Canon R. J. Wood, vicar of the latter parish at this time, stated that the questionnaire he was asked to complete by the English Church Union was so badly worded that the returns were bound to be inaccurate.

Appendix C

GUIDE TO SOURCES

Although the sources for this study have been fully documented in the footnotes, it may be useful to attempt to bring together the large number of archival sources, mostly in manuscript, that have been used, into one list under the repositories or private collections in which they can be consulted. Records in public repositories are generally easily accessible, but those in private collections, or in parish churches, can only be seen by special arrangement and access to some may be restricted.

1. *Public Repositories*

- a. Leeds: Brotherton Library, University of Leeds
Notebooks of C. T. Longley, Bishop of Ripon, containing parochial returns prior to his triennial visitations and related correspondence, 1837-56.
- b. Leeds: Central Reference Library
E. Butler, Notes on Leeds Church Affairs, late 19th century.
All Souls, *Parish Magazine* from 1879; consecration service, 1880; handbook to the church buildings, 1893; 5 volumes of newscuttings compiled by A. E. Campbell (vicar 1891-1902).
St. Saviour, *Monthly Paper* for 1880-1.
Leeds Churchman's Handbook from 1899.
Anglo-Catholicism and the Leeds Congress, newscuttings, 1922.
Local newspapers, mostly on microfilm.
- c. Leeds: City Archives Department
Christ Church, Parish Terrier, 2 vols., 1823-1922.
Holbeck (St. Barnabas), Registers of Baptisms, 3 vols., 1851-86, containing Ms. notes by Nicholas Greenwell, newscuttings and other miscellanea.
Chapel Allerton, circular *re* new hymnal 1871; *Parish Magazine*, July 1884 and June 1886; plans of new church.
Holbeck (St. Matthew), Registers of Services from 1879.
Middleton, Registers of Services, 1881-97 and 1909-26.
- d. Leeds: Ripon Diocesan Registry
Faculty Books from 1836.
- e. London: Lambeth Palace Library
Records of the English Church Union from 1859.
Papers of Archbishop Frederick Temple (1897-1902).

- f. London : Public Record Office
HO 129/501, ecclesiastical census returns for Leeds city churches and chapels, 1851.
- g. Oxford : Pusey House Library
Correspondence, papers and printed pamphlets relating mainly to the early leaders of the Oxford Movement, many still uncatalogued, mostly 19th century.

2. *Private Collections*

- a. Correspondence of W. F. Hook (1798-1875) in the custody of Mrs. Anna Coatalen, Hawkrigde Farm, Bucklebury, Berkshire.
- b. Correspondence of Robert Aitken (1800-73) in the custody of the Revd. John Pearce, Gwendroc, Truro, Cornwall.
- c. Minute books of the St. Wilfrid's Chapter of the Society of the Holy Cross from 1868 in the custody of the Revd. A. C. M. Howard, All Saints' Vicarage, Tanner Row, York.
- d. Records (printed reports only) of the English Church Union from 1870 in the custody of the General Secretary, Church Union, 199 Uxbridge Road, London W12.
- e. Records of the Guild of All Souls from 1873 in the custody of the Priest-Secretary, Guild of All Souls, St. Dunstan's Vestry, 184a Fleet Street, London EC4.

3. *Parish Records*

- a. Leeds Parish Church
Bound volume of papers *re* the election of W. F. Hook to the vicarage, 1837; loose material *re* the same election in transfer box 28.
- b. St. John, Briggate
Vestry Minute Book, 1846-1931.
- c. St. Saviour
Letters *re* early dedication festivals, 1848-55 (photostat copies in Leeds Central Reference Library); daybook of the Revd. (later Canon) John Wylde, 1877-92, and drafts of sermons and retreat addresses by Wylde.
- d. Stanningley
Churchwardens' Notebook from 1864.
- e. Armley (Christ Church)
Minute book of church building committee from 1868.
- f. Rothwell
Registers of services from 1871; parish scrapbooks; vestry and parochial church council minute books; leaflet for Holy Week and Easter 1914.
- g. All Saints
Registers of services from 1874, containing inventory of church goods, 1896; *Parish Magazine*, 1875-7.

- h. Kirkstall
Parish Magazine, 1879-1929; Parish Terrier, late 19th century.
- i. Middleton
Parish Terrier, late 19th century.
- j. Armley (St. Bartholomew)
Parish scrapbooks, late 19th century.
- k. Holy Trinity
Registers of services from 1882.
- l. Manston
Registers of services from 1884; Ms. extracts from *Parish Magazine*, 1911-19; church council minute books from 1918; *Journal of the Manston Parochial Lay Society*, 1925-30 (incomplete).
- m. Beeston Hill
Parish Magazine from 1888.
- n. St. Hilda
Parish Magazine from 1890; parish inventory from 1908.
- o. St. Aidan
Parish Magazine from 1891.
- p. Shadwell
Registers of services from 1897; parochial church council minute book, 1928-41.

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